

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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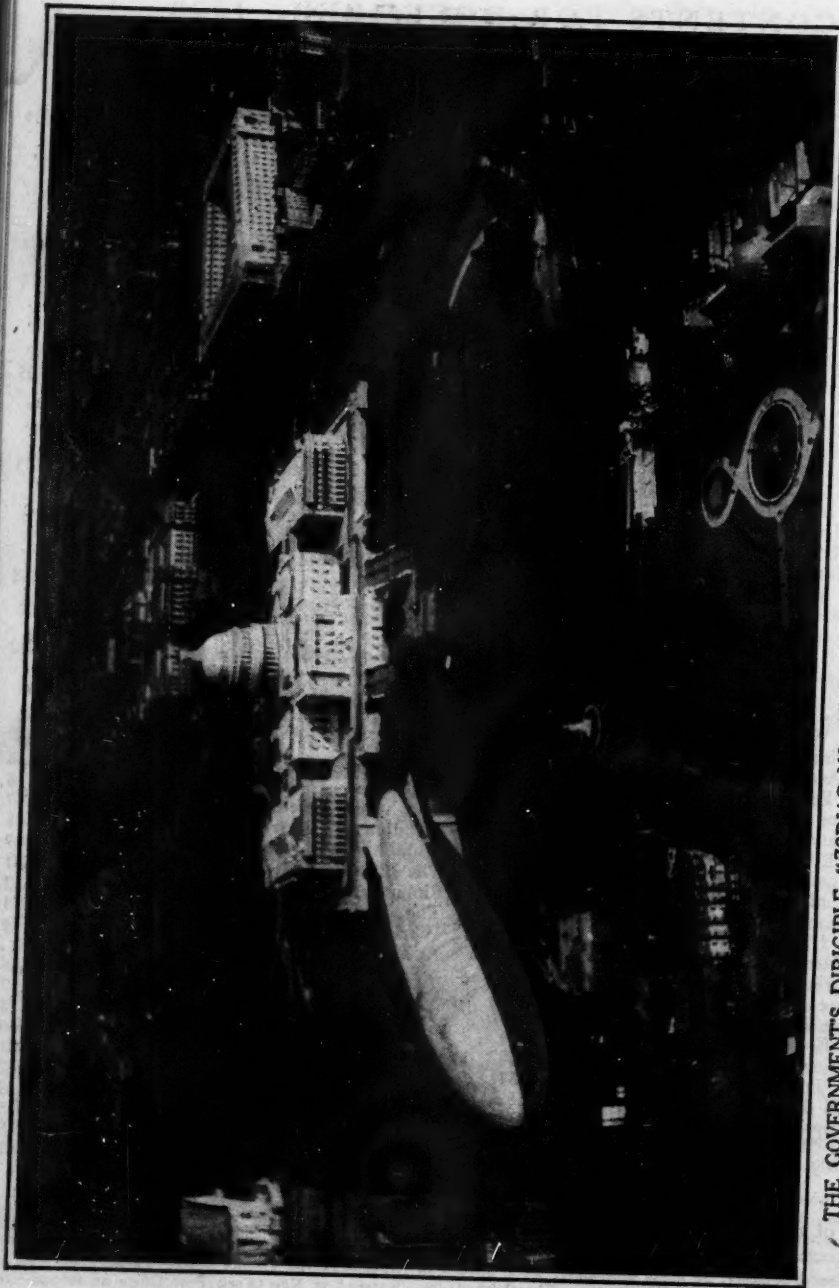
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THE GOVERNMENT'S DIRIGIBLE "ZODIAC NO. 1" FLYING OVER THE CAPITOL GROUNDS AT WASHINGTON

(The remarkable photograph from which this illustration is engraved was taken from an army airplane. It shows the army's largest dirigible, which appears to be lower than it actually is because of the height of the photographer. The Capitol building is shown from the west front, with the Congressional Library in the background. To the right is the Office Building of the members of the House of Representatives. The Senate Office Building, which is not shown very distinctly in the picture, occupies a corresponding place at the left. The dirigible is 260 feet long, and was purchased in France for our Army.)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 6

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*The Emphatic
Verdict of
November 2*

The country was fully prepared to vote on the national issues at the time when the State election was held in Maine in September. The Republican plurality for Governor in that State contest was about 65,000. Two months later the plurality for Harding over Cox in Maine was about 76,000. The indications throughout the entire campaign period were more clear than in almost any other presidential election of our entire history. The Republican victory was sweeping, decisive, and convincing as respects national opinion. The verdict would have been the same if the balloting had occurred at any time after the beginning of August. Probably, however, the Republicans gained in the size of their majorities as the campaign period dragged along. It is purely a matter of conjecture whether or not the Democrats lost votes as a result of their campaign efforts and arguments. It is proper to say, however, that the attempt to shape the League of Nations issue in such a manner that the Democratic party might be set in direct opposition to the Republican party, as nobler in spirit and more faithful to humanity in its views on our international relationships, was a dire failure.

*Now Ready
to Consider
"Peace Tangle"*

There was never any reason for the assumption that the great cause of world harmony was going to prosper if Cox was elected, and that it was going to suffer if Harding should win. The Republicans, who were all along quite certain to carry the election, were obliged to think and speak in terms of practical responsibility; and they were naturally reluctant to commit themselves to exact courses of proceeding. They were not rehearsing the old story of the visions and dreams of 1918, but were looking forward to the actual problems with which the na-

tions of the world would be dealing in 1921. The reconstruction of the world and the prevention of war are necessary objects that cannot be attained by fixing attention exclusively upon what was said and done at Paris after the armistice of two years ago. There must be open-mindedness, and a vast deal of real effort to understand things that are by no means so simple and easy as some people have thought.

*The "Fight"
and
the Public*

The campaign discussion differentiated two groups of people who will be able to contribute little of value to the further discussion of the subject of international organization, unless they become at once more modest and more practical. Both of these groups imagined themselves leading in what they termed a "fight." Still worse, both of them since the election have declared their purpose to go on with the "fight." Neither group is contributing anything at all to the enlightenment of the American public by its passionate flow of language. For purposes of talk, they are at opposite extremes. In point of fact, however, they are on common ground in obscuring the issues and in obstructing the work of the intelligent and reasonable majority. The time has now arrived for a calm study of what is well called the "peace tangle." The great voting public refused to take any part, either way, in the so-called "League Fight." The voters merely decided against one party and in favor of the other, for a number of reasons which to the unsophisticated were quite obvious. And the public was not stirred up at all.

*America's
Unaltered
Record*

The unselfish contributions made by the United States to the endangered cause of freedom in the war period stand without precedent in all history. When the war was over, the

military decision having been reached by virtue of American assistance, there came the question of reparation. All other participants in the victory made large money claims. The United States refused to ask for any indemnities or any compensation for its immense outlays. Here, again, this country set an unprecedented example of disinterestedness. There is no more reason to think that the people of the United States will not do their full part for the peace, order, and welfare of the world in years to come, than there is to say that this country has done less than its part in years that are past. The situations with which we have now to deal demand careful consideration. The very magnitude of the Republican success will help to eliminate partisanship. The excellent individuals who imagine themselves to be the peculiar champions of the League of Nations will not serve the cause they have at heart in the most useful way if they continue the controversial pose they had assumed in the campaign. There is no danger of precipitate action or narrow, ungenerous conclusions. Senator Harding is on record as having voted twice for the ratification of the peace treaty, including the League of Nations, and he has not grown unfriendly to a suffering world. There are, however, many thousands of people in the country who were at one time eager for the ratification of the treaty, with or without certain reservations, who are now, upon the whole, rather glad that the question is still open. They see that it is entirely possible to retain what is best in the structure of the League, and to deal properly with things that ought to be eliminated or recast.

Let an Agreement Be Found at Home

The verdict of the country was by no means against an association with the peoples of the civilized world for abating the evils of militarism and lessening the dangers of war. It would not be correct to say that the strong, clear sentiment of the United States that favors peace leagues is to be found rather in the States that gave their votes for Cox, and not in those that gave their votes for Harding. Thus Georgia gave Cox a typical and decisive Democratic majority over Harding; yet in perhaps no State of the entire Union was the repudiation of the Wilson-Cox idea of a League of Nations more emphatic than in Georgia, where it found its expression in the most unmistakable manner. Undoubtedly in many States there were conscientious and

high-minded voters, whose thinking did not go beyond forms of words, and who voted for Cox believing that a certain tone in campaign speeches had some bearing upon the public policies of the future. Those who really desire to have this country pursue wise courses are already showing signs of trying to minimize rather than to magnify the campaign differences. The atmosphere has been clearing fast since election day. We have endeavored for a long time to have our readers keep in mind the fact that such questions as those relating to the League of Nations are not partisan in their nature; nor are they the proper subjects of bitter controversy. There is no reason at all for our entering into any international combination at the present time that would be disliked or distrusted by large elements of our population, or by representative statesmen.

Constructive Work Now to Begin

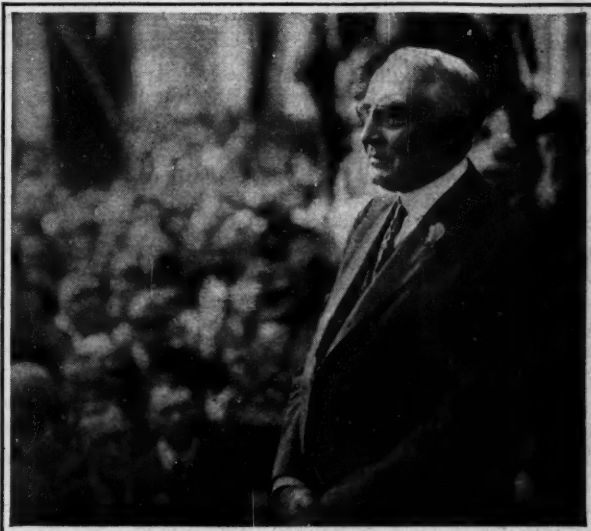
It is quite conceivable that there might be a state of the world in which Article X of the League Covenant could be safely accepted; but the underlying conditions that would make it possible for us to accept Article X do not now exist, as is evident to those who are willing to study the facts with an open mind. Those who would like to help along the cause of world order might better put some confidence in the attitude of President-elect Harding, and consider carefully the views that have been expressed by such Republican leaders as Mr. Root, Mr. Taft, Mr. Hughes, and many others, rather than to keep the detached attitude of opinionated persons who imagine themselves the especial custodians of a sacred cause. On the other hand, we have a good many excellent people, including some brilliant orators, who have been so embittered against the League, as advocated by President Wilson, that they have apparently thought it needful to keep on their war paint and to be prepared, in the future as in the past, to deal with these delicate and difficult problems as if they were engaged in a rough-and-tumble fight. There is nothing to be gained by bitterness or vituperation on either side. Senators Knox, Borah, Johnson, Reed, and others can afford now to look at the constructive side of the business before us, in order to contribute positively and helpfully toward the decisions that must be made. It seems fairly probable that a satisfactory American position can be defined for present purposes, leaving future developments to be shaped under future conditions.

Harding Has
Won National
Confidence

It will be a good many months before this country can shape its international policy. It would be a mistake to enter upon formal negotiations with European countries until the people of America have been led to the acceptance of some point of view of their own. It is the expressed desire and intention of Mr. Harding to do all that he can to bring American opinion to some focus as a basis for action. Patience and forbearance will help to produce the outlines of a wise American policy, and therefore it is to be hoped that agitation and controversy may give place to calm study and moderate discussion. Nothing that was said or done by Mr. Harding during the campaign was inconsistent with his official record as a Senator, or with his well-known opinions regarding American foreign policy. Europeans, looking on at the controversy between President Wilson and the Senate, did not discover fundamental disagreements, in so far as the American position was destined to affect the rest of the world. Senator Harding's positions are apparently satisfactory to the majority of Americans who have given thought to these questions. There was ample evidence that those European leaders who were looking forward to a reconciled and peaceful world were by no means of the opinion that Mr. Harding and the Republicans were to be feared as less friendly than Mr. Cox and the Democrats. Mr. Harding had stated his views in his speech of August 28. Subsequent speeches of his were either purposely or unintentionally misquoted by his campaign opponents, with a view to making him appear to be wabbling and time-serving. But the campaign exigencies are past, and Democrats will join in helping to end the treaty deadlock.

A Notable
Harding
Expression

Just before the close of the campaign, Mr. Cox and Mr. Harding gave to the editors of an excellent Iowa college publication, the *Grinnell Review*, a summarized expression of their positions on the League of Nations for publication in the November issue. Mr. Harding sent his contribution by wire, and it was perhaps the very last definite utter-



SENATOR HARDING AS HE APPEARED IN ONE OF THE LAST CAMPAIGN SPEECHES MADE FROM THE FAMOUS FRONT PORCH AT MARION

ance expressing his views on that subject. It is worth while to quote at some length from that statement, as it appears in the November issue of the *Grinnell Review*, not because it differs in meaning from other statements by Mr. Harding, but because it is compact, and particularly relevant for purposes of present quotation:

The Republican party and I, as its candidate, oppose uniting this country with an offensive and defensive military alliance to control the world. We can never accept Article X. Such an alliance is likewise, as I very well know, repugnant to the other nations with which we have recently been associated in the conduct of the world's war. They entered with reluctance into the Covenant that was formed at Versailles because they had been led to assume that it represented the only plan on which America would agree. In this, as we and they now know, they had been erroneously advised.

An Association of Nations, such as I favor, would avoid the dangers involved in an alliance of power. I want an association inspired by the high purpose of maintaining peace and fair dealing among nations, which would, I am convinced, contribute greatly to the future peace of the world. On the other hand, I am convinced that an alliance of power for the maintenance of the *status quo* in the world would be a menace to peace rather than a guarantee of it.

The world realizes that war under modern conditions is a menace to the very existence of civilization. It realizes that another great war would call into use more efficient instruments of destruction. So the world is more disposed than ever before to adopt measures looking to the prevention of war. I believe that The Hague tribunal represents the groundwork on which may be fabricated an effective Association of Nations to prevent war. To be sure, The Hague

plan did not prevent the world war, but the world now knows more about modern war than it knew prior to 1914.

The Versailles settlement is so closely interwoven with the entire settlement of the world that I believe we should preserve everything useful that has been written into that treaty. An Association of Nations for the purposes of conference and with a court possessing jurisdiction over justiciable questions would, I am confident, be accepted by the civilized world. Many European statesmen have expressed this same view. The British Premier has declared that the League Covenant could be changed for the better. We of the Republican party entertain the same opinion and hope to be able, while saving the useful parts of the Versailles accomplishment, to build upon and improve upon them.

Assuredly we have no intention to repudiate the world's ardent aspirations for peace. European leaders of state seem agreed that America can best lead in this effort at reconstruction and I feel that for us to fail them would be to evade a plain duty. Viscount Grey and others have even suggested that the United States be entrusted to draft a plan for a reorganized Association of Nations. To accomplish that would be a great service to the world, and I hope America may be able to do its full share. On the contrary, our opponents persist in demanding a program upon which our own country does not and cannot agree; a program which has already been shown incapable of maintaining world peace.

The Republican party earnestly wishes to perform for the cause of world peace the very service that the world wishes performed. It desires to help in every possible way. But it will never surrender our national heritage of complete national freedom and self-determination.

*What and
Where Are the
"Nations"?*

In the phrase, "League of Nations," there are *two* significant words—not one only. Some of our American theorists have attached so much importance to the word "League" that they have failed to examine the word "Nations," as related to existing facts. In theory, the "nations" form a series of independent sovereignties each having a like status, with equality of rights and obligations as regards other nations. We have forty-eight States making up our federal Union; and, while a few are larger and a few are smaller than the average, there is none that is large enough to be dictatorial and none that is small enough to be in any danger from its neighbors. There is no possible combination of a few large States to force their own interests or points of view upon the rest. Each of our States is dependent for its welfare and prosperity upon the combination of the whole. Each is benefited by the sacrifice of economic independence and the unity of the country for purposes of commerce. It is not, indeed, intended by the advocates of the League of Nations to

bring about any such intimate and indissoluble combination as that of our forty-eight States. But there are some of us who would like to see a much firmer and more popular League of Nations than the present Covenant provides for, and who, for that very reason, do not cling fanatically to the existing scheme. The peace treaty at Paris undertook to do a number of different things at the same time, but (apart from the League Covenant) two of those things are to be noted as most apparent. Obviously, the treaty undertook to establish the terms of peace, including the financial and economic programs under which Germany was to make reparation. But the Paris Conference undertook, also, to reapportion territories, to set up new sovereignties, and to reconstruct the political map of Europe in ways that were destined to create a tremendous ferment from the Baltic to the Persian Gulf. This second process was supposed to provide a concrete answer to the natural question: What and where are the so-called "nations" that were to be harmonized and guaranteed under the terms of the League of Nations that was being formulated simultaneously with the rearrangement of the political map?

*Nation-Making
to
Order*

It is hard for us in America to realize how imperfectly the political and territorial changes agreed upon at Paris have as yet gone into effect. No one knows to-day what is to be the political status of the parts of the former Russian Empire that are now detached. A brief period of ten years may prove to have upset completely the existing scheme. The dispositions made at Paris of various portions of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire may not prove in experience to be altogether stable. The future of the Turkish Empire is very much in doubt. Yet a satisfactory League of Nations, functioning well, and resting firmly upon the basis of the best public opinion of enlightened peoples everywhere, surely presupposes the existence of a series of well-established nations whose boundaries are admitted and respected by their neighbors, and whose stability is not seriously threatened, either from without or from within. This process of political readjustment was bound to be a painful one; and it was by no means certain that the verdicts of the "Big Four" at Paris could in all respects stand the tests of time. Stable equilibrium among the rival peoples of Europe is a thing that cannot be imposed off-

hand, as the experience of the past year has shown. It was well enough understood at Paris that decisions made in a library might be very difficult of application in rough weather out of doors. It was well known that for a long time to come the tentative decisions of the Peace Conference would be subject to practical test, with the certainty of numerous modifications and some radical changes.

*First, States:
Then Their
Organization*

Many of us who still are confident in the belief that there will some day be a strong League of Nations are well aware that the existence of a series of relatively equal states must be a fact—not an illusion—before the League can function with the success that the so-called idealists justly announce as their aim. Canada is a good example of a working league of states, as is our own Union; but the German Empire was a bad example because of the complete dominance of militaristic Prussia over the smaller states. The Austro-Hungarian Empire was not a good example of a league of nationalities, because the German and Magyar groups were oppressively dominant in relation to the Czechs, the Croats, the Slovenes, the Rumanians, the Poles, the Italians, and other constituent elements. Meanwhile, the encouragement and help of the stable countries of the world should be rendered to those less fortunate, in order to hasten the settling-down process. With a discontinuance of bloodshed, there must also be a recognition of economic needs as of more importance than political aspirations.

*The Allies
Will Dominate,
In Fact*

For some time to come, the peace of the world in the larger sense must rest upon the momentum, so to speak, of the Allied victory. The world is still under the authority of forces that made the Armistice, rather than under the arrangements for peacekeeping that were provided on paper in the Treaty of Versailles. There ought, of course, to be a rapid evolution henceforth. Particular nations must be helped to emerge from chaos with the aspects of stability. They should agree to respect their neighbor's boundaries and to abandon their present economic restrictions that are tending toward utter impoverishment. For the present, the navies of Great Britain and the United States constitute the foremost agency for the maintenance of world order. But the time should

come, in a future not far distant, when maritime international law will have been agreed upon and fully sanctioned, and when all stable nations would be glad to contribute something toward the policing of the seas as a principal method of maintaining international security. It is very expensive for Great Britain and the United States to maintain immense navies, and both nations will welcome the time when this is no longer necessary. In theory, of course, the seas belong to the world, and they should be directly controlled and policed by some world organization. It will be an immense relief to France when the conditions of peace and order in Europe may be such as to justify the reduction of her military expenditures to a minimum. Let us be charitable toward the mistakes that were made by the Big Four at Paris, and let us assume that they were



THE BLUEBEARD LEAGUE

BLUEBEARD FRANCE: "What do you say, Miss?"

From *De Notenhraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)

(The Dutch cartoon reproduced above expresses the opinion that at the present time, for all practical purposes, the League of Nations represents the military power of France. Holland is dissatisfied over the verdict in favor of Belgium as regards control of the mouths of the River Scheldt. The cartoon itself merely illustrates the obvious fact that European decisions are not yet regarded as resting upon anything but the power of the Allied victors)



MR. JOHN F. BASS, OF CHICAGO

(Mr. Bass is undoubtedly the most experienced of American war correspondents and would doubtless be accorded first place among them by his journalistic peers. Beginning with the British campaign in Egypt twenty-five years ago, he has witnessed wars and revolutions in many countries. He graduated from Harvard in 1891, and had been admitted to the bar in New York before entering upon his distinguished career as a correspondent. His new book, called "The Peace Tangle," gives the best picture of present conditions in Europe that is now available for American readers)

doing their best with the conditions that seemed to exist two years ago. But, surely, it will be no less the duty of statesmen in 1921 to reckon carefully with conditions as they have developed since the war. There will be a period of several months during which Americans may wisely study the facts. There has been too much disposition to decide first and investigate afterward.

At this juncture there appears a volume by John F. Bass, entitled "The Peace Tangle." It is decidedly the most valuable book about the Treaty of Versailles and its results that has appeared in any quarter. Dr. E. J. Dillon's book gave a brilliant description of the gathering at Paris and its methods of proceeding. Mr. John Maynard Keynes' made a special appeal, written in a brilliant style, to support a strictly personal point of view about the economic provisions of the treaty. These books were written immediately after the Paris Conference. Mr. Bass has waited until now, and he has spent the two years since the Armistice in the most careful and

patient study of actual conditions, visiting old and new capitals, and learning at first hand. He finds that the "secret treaties," rather than the "Fourteen Points," dominated the work of the Peace Conference. And he proceeds in a series of chapters to show how the remaking of the map of Europe has worked thus far. These chapters deal with particular countries, beginning with France and Germany and following through Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Austria, and Hungary to the Balkans and Turkey. When the reader has finished these illuminating chapters he will be impressed with the practical difficulties that lie ahead. He will understand why it must be some time before Europe can really settle down.

Let Men Like Bass Now Be Heard Economic problems were at all times more vital than territorial and political problems, but the Big Four at Paris failed to realize this fact, and Europe is suffering accordingly. It does not follow that the intelligent American reader of Mr. Bass' book will conclude that America should keep aloof; but he will have a much better notion than he could possibly have had before of the nature of the problems with which Europe is struggling, and of the reasons for a radical reconstruction of certain portions of the Covenant of the League of Nations, as well as for certain rearrangements of the peace settlement as a whole. Mr. Bass is so modest a man that he may not fully realize the great position he has gained in the opinion of the discriminating. Of the numerous American newspaper correspondents who in recent years have contributed to the enlightenment of readers in the United States regarding affairs in Europe and Asia, Mr. Bass ranks with the first in thorough knowledge and in trained power of judgment. But he himself would readily name other American correspondents and journalists whose knowledge and whose opinions ought to be made use of by our official leaders.

Mr. Simonds as Expert Witness During the recent campaign many people were arguing with lofty vision and intense feeling in favor of the League of Nations. Many others were arguing with bitter passion against any connection on the part of the United States with that international organization. The discussion as carried on by the extremists of these two groups was marked by its theoretical or academic char-

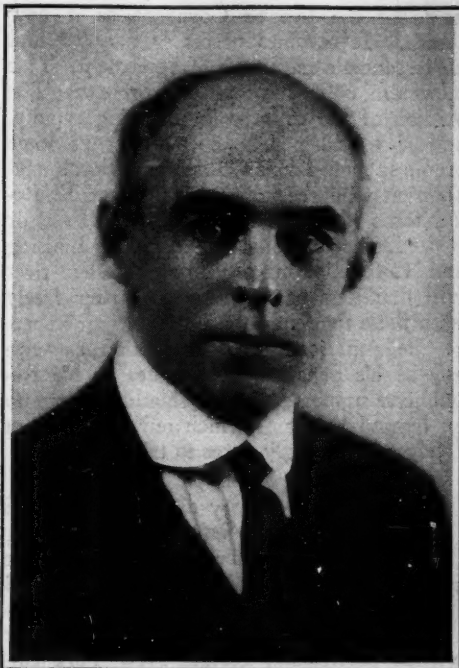
acter, and by its failure to disclose knowledge of essential facts. We are now to have a new study of the whole subject, and those who can help most will not be the passionate orators, but the able, modest, and sensible men who know what they are talking about. It is hardly necessary to remind our readers of the exceptional value of the extended monthly studies of European conditions that Mr. Frank H. Simonds contributes regularly to this magazine. He lived in Paris during the period of the Peace Conference, and he is following the work of political and economic reconstruction in Europe as carefully as from 1914 to 1918 he studied the Great War, of which he became the foremost military historian. His presentation in this issue of the REVIEW of the Italian, Greek, and Turkish issues will be found especially instructive. Writers like Mr. Simonds and Mr. Bass show us what is really going on in the new process of nation-building.

Mr. Root
and
Article X

It is one thing, then, to work out your list of established nations; and it is another thing to league them together for the safeguarding of civilization. The League of Nations, as constructed at Paris, is a beautiful creation in many respects; but, in practical application to the out-of-door world, this League is not at all what it purports to be. Can it be used as the starting point from which a real association of free peoples may be developed? In our opinion, it can; but illusions must be torn away, and realities must be faced. Mr. Elihu Root's analysis has shown conclusively why we cannot possibly accept Article X of the League Covenant, which would obligate us to use our military and naval forces to protect each member of the League perpetually, in the territorial rights assigned to it by virtue of the new map of the world that was drawn at Paris. Mr. Root, as a great lawyer and statesman, who has also been a lifelong promoter of international peace and justice, can be trusted to advise us well on what commitments we should make in ratifying treaties. Men like Mr. Simonds and Mr. Bass can show us the real conditions under which nations are trying to find their respective places.

The Real
League Must
Arrive

There will come a time when the League will not only protect small nations in their essential rights as against powerful neighbors, but when no single country will be powerful



© Arnold

MR. FRANK H. SIMONDS

(Whose current studies of reconstruction in Europe and Asia are as valuable as his previous accounts of the Great War. He was at Paris during the period of the Peace Conference)

enough to defy the opinion of the world as expressed through the League, or to run the risk of being outlawed. There must be no lowering of aims or relinquishment of ideals. It is as feasible a thing to have a League of Nations and international peace as it is to have a confederation of entities like our forty-eight States. But, while it is feasible, it is by no means easy; and it cannot be accomplished by a group of diplomats sitting around a table. Imperialism must be superseded, and a series of nations must emerge, each of which for vital purposes of its own security must insist upon an association of civilized peoples. The League of Nations formulated at Paris was in many respects fundamentally wrong. It was carefully framed to protect and preserve the domination of certain interests. It is true that the combined power of the Allies must persist until the world is reconstructed. It follows that an actual and real League of Nations cannot assume its full sway by moral authority, until the reconstruction period has been lived through. There is high value, then, in the ideals of the League advocates; and there is also hard sense and truth in some of the criticisms of the American oppo-

nents of the League Covenant as it now stands. It becomes necessary now to find an irreducible minimum of agreement. This minimum will suffice for the present. The opinion of the country is clarifying rapidly, and it would not be so difficult as some people suppose for Senators Knox, Borah, and Johnson to agree upon a program with Republicans like Mr. Root and Mr. Taft, or with Democrats like ex-Secretary Lansing and Colonel House. The President-elect will doubtless be as ready to confer freely with these two eminent Democratic members of the American peace delegation as with any of his Senatorial colleagues or his Republican supporters. We should not try to go beyond the steps which our country can freely and willingly agree to take.

*What Are the
Party
Issues?*

The country experienced a deep sense of relief with the beginning of November and the end of the political campaign. Almost everybody had understood how the election was going, except a few people who took counsel of their wishes, particularly certain New York editors. It happened that the country had decided to vote for a party change in the executive management of the nation's affairs, in order to complete the swing of the pendulum that gave us a Republican Congress two years ago. Fortunately for us, the party names do not now represent deep cleavage. People of diverse views on all controverted political questions are to be found in both of the great parties. Upon things fundamental to the welfare of the nation, Republicans and Democrats do not differ. There were no violent contrasts between the Chicago and San Francisco platforms. Many people in both parties thought of Herbert Hoover as a desirable candidate. Upon some questions the two parties have certain traditional attitudes; but for the most part these are reminiscent rather than living issues. The tariff question presents some real problems as we look ahead, but it is impossible to discover a Republican tariff policy that is opposed by a Democratic one. As for the claim that Democracy is for labor and human rights, and Republicanism for corporate wealth and Wall Street, the voters answered it negatively.

*The Tariff
in Recent
History*

In 1908, the Republicans promised to revise the tariff if continued in power. They enacted the Payne-Aldrich law, against the earnest protests of about a dozen progressive Republi-

can Senators. President Taft made the unfortunate mistake of failing to support the views of men like Dolliver and Cummins, of Iowa. The country considered that the Payne-Aldrich tariff did not fulfil the promise that had been made. However, the men who controlled the party organization insisted upon going to the people for a verdict. They overruled sentiment within the party ranks, ignoring the preliminary decisions of the primaries, and they offered themselves for the country's vote of confidence or of disapproval in November, 1912. There resulted a revolt within the party which led away a majority of the Republican voters, and thus Mr. Wilson was elected with 435 votes in the Electoral College as against 8 for the Republican ticket, and 88 for the Progressive. Democrats controlled both Houses of Congress and enacted the Underwood tariff. That measure was fairly well received, and the tariff question ceased to be a clear issue as between the two great parties. It is not likely to recover its place as a partisan bone of contention.

*Permanence
of
Parties*

There were many who thought that the Republican party was crushed in 1912 beyond the hope of resurrection. But this view ignored the nature of the two historic parties. They are rival organizations seeking public favor and asking to be entrusted with the honors and duties of governmental control. They recover from their mistakes and adapt themselves to changing conditions. The Progressive movement of 1912 was a powerful temporary protest, and it had its effect. Both old parties became "progressive." With the nomination of Mr. Hughes, four years later, the two factions came together again. Local conditions, however, kept the Republican breach open in California, and this circumstance alone gave the Democrats their presidential victory in 1916. The party issues were not very clear cut four years ago. The Republicans were decidedly more alive to the dangers of the World War than were the Democrats, and they believed that America would be safer if prepared in the military sense, while the Democrats, led by Mr. Wilson, took the view that unpreparedness was a better way of expressing to the world our love of peace and hatred of militarism. The popular vote was almost equally divided, Mr. Wilson having a plurality of about half a million, two-thirds of which was represented by the failure of the Hiram Johnson Repub-

licans of California to vote for Mr. Hughes, while the other third was represented by votes in the States of the Solid South, where there was no contest. Thus the Republican party was fully reestablished again, and two years later it gained control of Congress.

*Democrats
Not
Discouraged*

The Democrats made their campaign in 1916 largely upon the plea that if Mr. Wilson were reelected he would keep the country out of the European war, whereas the Republicans would probably plunge us into it. The failure of the Administration and the Democratic Congress to support their own Secretary of War, Mr. Garrison, in his moderate program of preparedness, proved to be not merely a mistake but an irretrievable disaster. Most thoughtful people hold strong convictions regarding the conduct of our foreign affairs throughout both terms of the Wilson Administration. The President appealed for the election of another Democratic Congress in the autumn of 1918, and the country responded by reducing the Democrats to a minority in each House. This verdict did not seem to make its due impression upon the White House, and there resulted the governmental deadlock between a Democratic Executive and a Republican Congress which has had so many harmful consequences. Thus the country in 1920 has confirmed its verdict of 1918 with emphasis. Much of the work of the Democratic party in executive office and in Congress during Wilson's first term was intelligent, timely, and acceptable. The Federal Reserve act, the tariff revision, and certain other economic measures were notable achievements. The Wilson period in the pages of the future historian will be accorded an ample measure of praise. The Democratic party is a better and more promising agency of public service than ever before. It is not discouraged and has no reason for despondency.

*Wilson and
the Party
Eclipse*

In his first term Mr. Wilson had to be not only the leader but the relentless master of his party, in order to accomplish his program of economic reform. But he had not personally created that program; and his masterfulness lay merely in pushing it through Congress. In foreign affairs, however, he seemed to rely too much upon his own detached judgment, not merely in executing policies, but in shaping them. This had been true of his Mexican policy, and it was notably so after Europe



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MISS ALICE ROBERTSON, OF MUSKOGEE, OKLAHOMA

(Who is elected to Congress as a Republican, and who had been opposed to woman suffrage. There are no women in the present Congress, and she is the only woman elected to the next House. She grew up in Oklahoma (then Indian Territory) and is an authority upon Indian education and Western conditions)

went to war. The failure of his health further isolated him, and he lost control of public opinion. Thus the defeat of his party became inevitable. The Democratic eclipse, however, was strictly for the purposes of this election. If a change was plainly due in 1912, it was even more emphatically due in 1920. Certain Democratic candidates for office have doubtless experienced slight pangs of disappointment; but otherwise the Democratic party is entirely satisfied, and rather glad to be so completely absolved from responsibility in view of the complicated problems that lie ahead of us. An electoral contest in the United States is not, as in some countries, akin to civil war. Public opinion remains the great controlling force, and Democrats—whether as private citizens, as public men, or as journalists—are expected to take their full part in the subsequent proceedings. Mr. Harry L. Davis will succeed Mr. Cox as Governor of Ohio, but meanwhile Mr. Cox controls two important newspapers, has acquired a national position, and is cheered by the thought that he did as well as he could in a hopeless contest.

*Effects of
the Two
Amendments*

There is little need to review in detail the results of the election, except for purposes of reference and record. The leaders of neither party show any regrets about the enfranchisement of women in view of the election facts. Women show no eagerness to crowd men out of leading places in the political game. One woman has been elected to Congress, namely, Miss Alice Robertson, of Muskogee, Oklahoma, where she ran as a Republican in the Second Congressional District. Years ago she had been appointed a postmistress by President Roosevelt. Many women made campaign speeches, a few of which were foolish, but most of which surpassed expectations. A good many women were chosen to fill local offices, and a sprinkling of women will be found in State legislatures. The magnitude of the Republican pluralities is largely explained by the great increase in the total vote, due to the enfranchisement of women. Speaking in general, the women voters were in accord with the men of their own families. The prohibition question did not figure as much in the election as many people had supposed that it would before the two national conventions. The leaders, alike at Chicago and at San Francisco, discovered that the country was determined to give the prohibition amendment to the Constitution, and also the Volstead act, a fair chance. A vast majority of the American people are glad to have drinking saloons done away with, and firmly believe that the ordinary use of alcoholic beverages is a bad thing. Obviously, there is much evasion of the law, but there is overwhelming testimony to the fact that prohibition is worth trying.

*"Labor" Was
Fairly
Divided*

Both parties last spring were scared about the labor question. Labor leaders were blacklisting courageous public men, and there were many timid politicians in either party who were affected by the delusion that the officials of labor unions had some power of control over the votes of wage-earners. As a matter of fact, labor leaders control their own personal ballots when they enter the voting booths, and their political power proceeds little further. They are the employees of their unions; and they are not hired to dictate either to those who hold union cards, or to any other wage-earning people, what church they ought to attend or what political party they ought to support. That the officials of labor organizations have a perfect right to

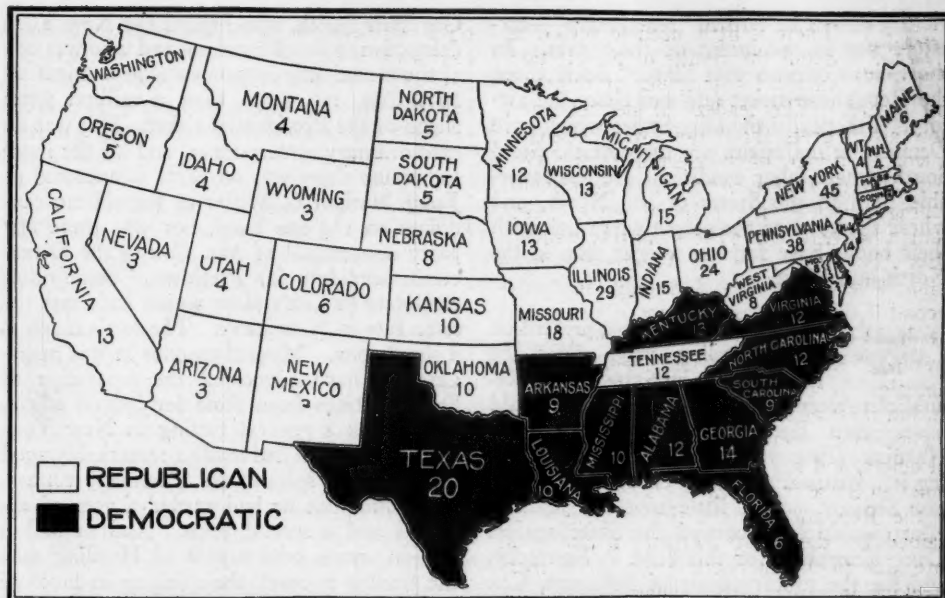
offer political advice is obvious. So, also, have pastors of churches such a right, and so have the heads of industrial corporations. But the American voter is going to do as he pleases on election day. The mere fact that certain prominent officers and agents of labor organizations undertook to "round up" the labor vote for the Democratic ticket probably hurt the Cox vote much more than it helped. If the Republican party, which in the next Congress will have a majority of 176 in the House of Representatives and a majority of 20 in the Senate, should betray a strong inclination to make laws unfavorable to wage-earners, or improperly beneficial to capital or to special interests, the public would not fail to show disapproval in the next election. Wage-earners, whether unionized or not, are merely "the public" when it comes to political action. Union labor at the polls was fairly divided this year.

*Some Men Whom
"the Public"
Approves*

Governor Coolidge, who had been marked for defeat by the labor leaders after the Boston police strike, added positive strength to the Republican national ticket. Governor Allen, of Kansas, was slated for defeat because of the methods he had used in ending a coal-miners' strike and in securing a law to protect the rights of coal miners without their having to resort to strikes. But Allen has been reelected decisively; and not a single candidate for either branch of the Kansas legislature who was opposed to the Governor's Industrial Relations Court law has succeeded in gaining a seat. Senator Cummins, of Iowa, had incurred the displeasure of labor leaders because he advocated a method of arbitrating disputes that would secure the public from the danger of railroad strikes, while guarding the rights of railway employees. A great effort was made to defeat Mr. Cummins for another term in the Senate; but the people of Iowa have now stood by him, and the country will have the advantage of his further service at Washington.

*"Labor"
Voted for
Harding*

Evidently the voters have not endorsed the dictatorial attitude of certain leaders of organized labor that had been yielded to and encouraged at Washington, whether wisely or unwisely, from a period antedating the passage of the Adamson law. It does not follow that the country will now countenance any similarly dictatorial attitude on the part of the opponents of organized labor. In short, it would

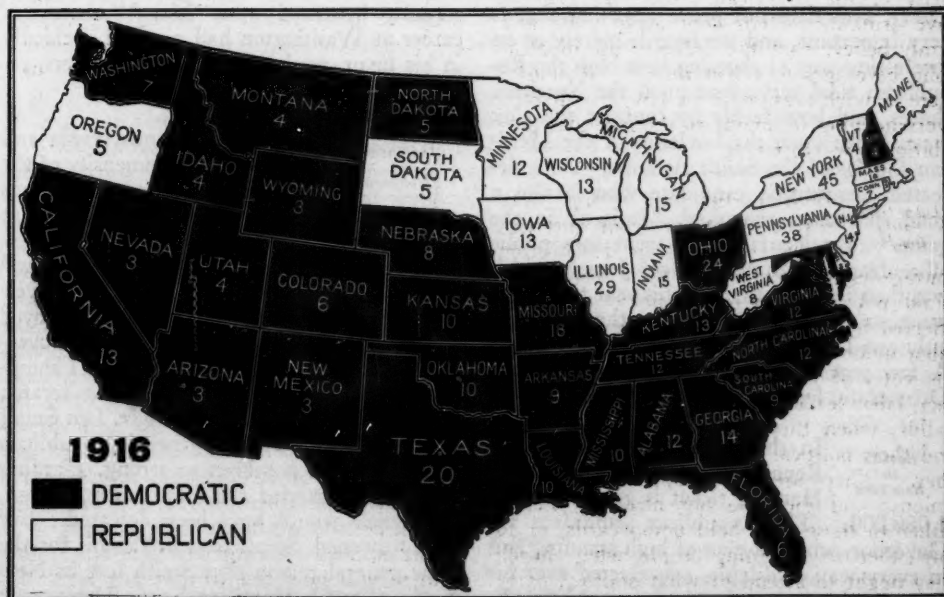


THIS MAP SHOWS STATES CARRIED BY HARDING AND COX, RESPECTIVELY, WITH THE NUMBER OF ELECTORAL VOTES BELONGING TO EACH STATE

(The total number for Harding is 404; that for Cox is 127)

be a great mistake to think that the real cause of good wages, short hours, collective bargaining, and economic and social progress all along the line for wage-earners had suffered any check or rebuff in last month's election. Most of the people of the country have to

work hard to make a living, and the political victory was theirs. If the men they have elected to office shall fail to deal in a liberal and progressive spirit with matters vital to human welfare, swift rebuke will await the Republican party. So sweeping a popular



THIS MAP SHOWS THE STATES CARRIED BY WILSON AND HUGHES, RESPECTIVELY, IN 1916

(The total electoral votes for Wilson were 277; for Hughes, 254)

victory cannot be termed "reactionary"—certainly not in the intent of the voters. In short, it is obvious that "labor" itself voted the Republican ticket and can claim the victory. Practically the only States which gave Democratic majorities are those of the Solid South, where labor conditions are less favorable than in the States of the North, and where the votes of the people who work with their hands have far less weight than in the North and West.

*The Sweep of
the Party
Tide*

Our contrasting maps printed on the preceding page show the extent, State by State, of the Republican sweep. A very slight change would have given Kentucky's electoral vote to Harding, along with that of States surrounding it. Kentucky actually elected a Republican Senator, and a little more Republican effort would have carried the State against Cox. Excepting for this fluke in Kentucky, and for the solitary State of Arkansas, Cox was victorious only in a tier of States south of the Chesapeake Bay, all of which are washed by the tides of the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. These are Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia. The Republican plurality in the one State of New York seems to have been twice as large as the combined pluralities of all the States that were carried by Cox. This does not prove anything that is very important, and we note it merely as an interesting way of showing how high the Republican tidal wave beat upon the Northern shores, and how feebly by contrast the Cox wave broke upon the lowlands of the Mexican Gulf and the South Atlantic. As a defeated Democratic candidate who is also a good sportsman remarked, "It is all in the game." President Wilson went into public office from the State of New Jersey, which was then Democratic; but this year that State went so strongly Republican that there is only one Democrat elected to the legislature. A few years hence New Jersey will have a Democratic legislature again, undoubtedly.

*Results
in
New York*

In the State of New York the Republican plurality for the Harding ticket is given as about 1,080,000. The Republican candidate for Governor, who is a man of high standing and in every way creditable, was elected over his Democratic opponent, Governor Alfred E. Smith, by a plurality of about 75,000. Thus

Governor Smith, who headed the New York delegation at San Francisco, and who was one of the men chiefly instrumental in nominating Mr. Cox, ran more than a million votes ahead of the Presidential ticket. This was an extraordinary circumstance, and all the more so because there was no party disapproval of Judge Nathan L. Miller as Republican candidate on the one hand, nor was there any party disapproval of Mr. Cox as the Democratic candidate for President. Some other candidate in Cox's place would have met the same fate in New York. The explanation is a simple one. More than once in this magazine we have advocated the separation of State elections from those for federal offices. There was a general feeling in New York that "Al" Smith had made a remarkably good Governor, in spite of his Tammany connections, and that he had earned a vote of approval and a second term. And so half a million voters who supported Harding took the trouble to mark their ballots in favor of Smith. In the State-wide election for United States Senator, Mr. Wadsworth, running for reelection, fell about half a million votes short of the plurality given to Harding. Under the circumstances, this was a pretty sharp reprimand on the part of those who had disapproved of Wadsworth's record. Such disapproval, however, would account for only a part of the difference between the Harding and Wadsworth votes. Upon the whole, the scrutiny bestowed upon Mr. Wadsworth's career at Washington had resulted decidedly in his favor, as shown in the newspapers, regardless of party.

*In Illinois
and
Elsewhere*

In States like Pennsylvania and Connecticut the immensity of the Republican sweep made things safe for such Senators seeking reelection as Mr. Penrose and Mr. Brandegee, regardless of the attacks upon them as "reactionaries." In Illinois, a bitter factional fight had developed between the followers of Mayor Thompson, of Chicago, and those of Governor Lowden. In the primaries, the Thompson people had succeeded by a bare scratch in securing the nomination of Mr. Len Small for Governor. If the general Republican movement had not been so strong, Harding would have carried the State easily enough, and Small would have been defeated. But as it happened, Small won in Illinois for the same general reason that Smith lost in New York. Thus J. Hamilton Lewis, Democratic candidate for Governor of Illinois, ran sev-

eral hundred thousand votes ahead of Cox. In Illinois, as in New York, there would have been advantages in having the State election held in the odd years, separated from the federal elections, which come in the even years.

*Some
Personal
Results*

It was not supposed that the Republican waters would ever run high enough to submerge the Hon. Champ Clark in his own Missouri district. He was, however, defeated by a small Republican majority, the State giving about 120,000 plurality for Harding and perhaps half as large a plurality for Spencer, the Republican Senator. The defeat of Champ Clark is generally regretted by Republicans throughout the country. The fight against Senator Lenroot in Wisconsin was fortunately unsuccessful. Mr. Volstead, chairman of the Judiciary Committee and chief author of the prohibition enforcement law, won the fight in his Minnesota district. In California, where Wilson four years ago had a plurality of more than 300,000, Harding this year has in round figures 500,000. Mr. Phelan, in spite of his popularity at home and his good record in the Senate, was beaten by his Republican opponent, Mr. Shortridge. Until election day Utah was claimed by the Democrats and admitted to be doubtful by Republicans. It had given Wilson a plurality of 30,000 four years ago. It has now gone Republican, however, by more than 23,000 and Senator Reed Smoot retains his seat.

*Four Months
of
Useless Delay*

Every national election reminds us afresh of certain cumbrous and inelastic features of our governmental system. Thus the new Congress will not meet for its first regular session until December of next year, thirteen months after its election. It will, of course, be called by Mr. Harding to assemble in extra session soon after his inauguration because of the great pressure of public business. The Constitution, however, provides for only two regular sessions in the lifetime of each Congress, and the second of these sessions begins a month after the election of the new Congress. Nothing like this can be found in any other important country. Most of our State legislatures meet for business on or about the first of January, some eight weeks after their election; and it is nowhere customary in this country for the retiring State legislature to have a session after its successor is chosen. President Wilson insisted upon regarding the

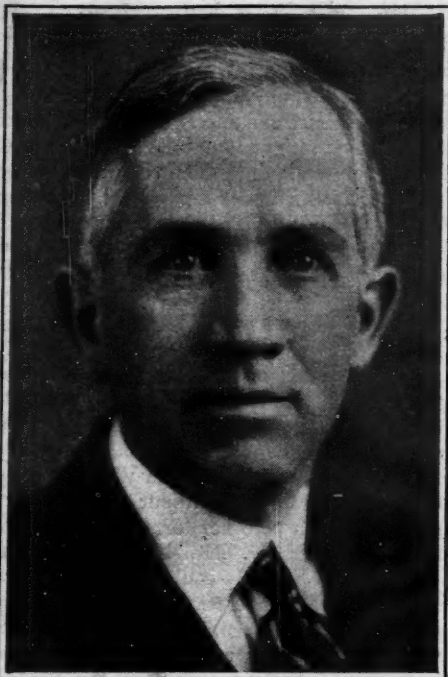
election as an appeal to the country for endorsement of his personal management of the peace question and his views about a League of Nations. In any other important country, under these circumstances, the man in office would have resigned at once in order that the change desired by the voters might go into effect. But under our system, President Wilson, and not President-elect Harding, will send the annual message to Congress at the opening of the regular session on December 6.

*Bryan Proposes
Immediate
Change*

The Hon. William J. Bryan, who for twenty-four years has held his place as the foremost personality in the Democratic party, made an interesting suggestion last month. He proposed that President Wilson should promptly resign. This act would make Vice-President Marshall President without a moment's delay, and with no other formality except the oath of office. Mr. Marshall, in turn (as suggested by Bryan), could at once appoint Senator Harding Secretary of State and himself retire from the presidency. Under the existing law of succession, the Secretary of State would become President for the remainder of the unexpired term. The outgoing Congress has a working Republican majority in the House with a bare majority in the Senate. The proposals made by Mr. Bryan could be adopted without the slightest difficulty—in fact, they would be vastly easier to put into effect than the installation of a new Prime Minister in France, a thing that has happened at least twice a year on the average during the past half century. It is not merely curious, but quite instructive, that Mr. Bryan's suggestion should have been so generally regarded as fantastic. It is perfectly just to say, without reflection upon any individual, that an office once gained in this country is regarded as a personal perquisite, and to be retained, either for its power or for its emoluments, or both, as long as possible. It is not a welcome thought that the country must continue to endure the deadlock between Congress and the White House until noon on the fourth day of next March. Mr. Harding, of course, would naturally prefer the delay on various accounts; but it is a bad system that makes the delay possible.

*A Change
Would
Be Welcomed*

These are not whimsical observations, nor are they intended in the slightest degree as reflections upon Mr. Wilson. It is the system itself that we are discussing. It would be only



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HON. NORMAN H. DAVIS, UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE

(Mr. Davis, who comes from Tennessee, was one of the financial advisers of the American peace delegation at Paris. He was made Assistant Secretary of the Treasury some time ago to succeed Dr. L. S. Rowe, and more recently he has been promoted to the State Department as Under-Secretary. During the protracted absence of Mr. Colby on his South American tour, Mr. Davis will be Acting Secretary of State.)

frank to observe in passing that the opinion has been and remains widespread throughout the country that Mr. Wilson's serious and protracted illness has definitely shown us the reasons why the founders of the Government provided for a Vice President. The American presidency is the most arduous office in the world, and its duties are too taxing even for men in vigorous health. It is utterly contrary to American precedents, however, for anybody to resign from high office. The few exceptions merely go to prove the rule. It is the system itself that should be changed. But for the bother of presidential elections, a two-year term with eligibility limited to three consecutive terms—a total six-year period—would be wholly desirable; and in any case, whether terms be longer or shorter, the laws should provide for the prompt retirement of a President after the election of his successor. That the country would endorse such a change cannot be doubted. Steps should be taken promptly.

Public
Business
Marking Time

Existing conditions make this view obvious enough. Thus a number of international matters are pending, and the whole world is asking what Harding thinks about this or that subject, and nobody is asking what Wilson thinks. If, on the other hand, Cox had been elected, with a Democratic Congress to support him, Wilson's prestige would have been upheld and a slight Republican majority in the hold-over Congress would have lost all its moral weight and would have been regarded as merely obstructive. A simple amendment to the Constitution, fixing January 1 instead of March 4 as the date of presidential inauguration, and fixing the first Monday in the January following the election of November for the meeting of the new Congress, would constitute a reform of very great practical value. This change should be adopted now, and should go into effect as regards Congress in 1925, and as regards the presidency in 1929. As a further indication that serious activity in matters of foreign policy would be suspended during the present winter, it was announced last month that the Secretary of State, Mr. Bainbridge Colby, was about to go to South America on a round of courtesy visits, and that the State Department would be in charge of the Under-Secretary, Mr. Norman Davis. Mr. Colby's note about Poland and Russia several months ago was a notable performance of permanent standing, and Mr. Norman Davis is an intelligent and experienced official; but the Wilson Administration has almost wholly lost its grip upon everything that concerns foreign relations—whether with Europe, Mexico, or Japan. The Constitution should be promptly amended to remedy a situation that enfeebles American prestige in the eyes of every foreign government.

Congress
Assembles
December 6

The short term of the expiring Congress, that opens on December 6 and ends on March 4, cannot accomplish much beyond the passing of annual appropriation bills. The prosperity of the country requires drastic reduction of public expenditure. The leaders of both parties ought to cooperate in making the tax laws less burdensome, and in putting an end to many forms of public expenditure that remain unduly lavish as a legacy from that spending orgy of the war period for which it would be foolish to blame either party, exclusively, though the



THE PRESIDENT-ELECT AND MRS. HARDING, GREETED BY MEXICAN CHILDREN AT POINT ISABEL, TEXAS

(Soon after his election, Mr. Harding, accompanied by several friends, went for a vacation to Point Isabel on the Gulf of Mexico at the extreme southern tip of Texas, where his recreations were tarpon fishing and golf. His proximity was interesting to Mexicans and evoked from them many expressions of neighborly regard; but Mr. Harding declined to be drawn into discussions of a diplomatic or official character. His absence was to be prolonged by a visit to the Panama Canal.)

Democrats have had to take the punishment. Three successive Secretaries of the Treasury, Mr. McAdoo, Mr. Glass, and the present incumbent, Dr. Houston, have not been men of partisan mind or spirit, and they have all shown financial and administrative ability of a higher order. In public as well as in private business affairs, the winter upon which we are now entering calls for thrift, care and economy.

Postponed
Peace
Settlements

As we have already pointed out, it is quite likely that the suspended peace settlement will be agreed upon early next summer, after the extra session of Congress has had its chance; and there will be less difficulty than has been generally anticipated. Good will is much more valuable than elaborate commitments on paper. In making arrangements with European governments, President Harding and the Senate should go as far as this country is willing to go by common consent, and should go no farther. The idea that anything is to be gained for the League of Nations by making a "fight" for it is absurd. If the League of Nations is to be a good thing for this country, it will be quite sufficient for its advocates—having first become informed as well as convinced—to persuade others by giv-

ing them good reasons. A League of Nations can be strong only as it is built up by common consent, because of its demonstrated need and its practical merits. In any case, it will have to be a growth, and not a sheer creation either of diplomacy or of political theory. Let such steps be taken, then, as can be taken firmly and with confidence. Further steps will be taken as experience shows the way.

The Monroe
Doctrine
Will Stand

There are conflicts among the races and peoples of Europe that America cannot settle, by any assumption either of wisdom or of authority; but America can doubtless be helpful in upholding the ideas of neighborly forbearance and of legal adjustment as against the ruinous processes of force. Meanwhile, the imperialistic hands of Europe are laid upon Asia, Africa, and the islands of the seas, and it is evident that Europe cannot be of much benefit in the political sense to the Western Hemisphere. European imperialism must give a better account of itself, and the League of Nations must emerge more distinctly as a substitute for imperialism, before the United States can think of discarding the Monroe Doctrine. The Panama visit of the President-elect will help him to realize the numerous Pan-American questions to be dealt with.

*Financial
and
Trade Problems*

The great problems of the Harding administration will be financial and economic. The Government must deal efficiently with its own business, and therefore there must be brought into operation a good budget system; that is to say, an effective way of estimating in advance the sums needed for the coming year's expenditures, and of bringing the total outlays into relationship with the means for obtaining the necessary revenue. Next there must be a thoroughgoing rearrangement of departments and bureaus at Washington. Such a rearrangement will meet with resistance, because it will take away the power and the emoluments of many place-holders. During the half century preceding our Civil War, we had developed a great shipping industry; but our merchant ships were driven from the sea, and when the war was over the British mercantile marine had entirely superseded the American. During the recent war, it became necessary for us to build ships in order to make sure that our forces abroad should receive necessary supplies. We built an immense number of new shipbuilding plants, and at a staggering cost we created under pressure an extensive fleet of wooden and steel ships for carrying ocean freight. Much of the work done was unsuccessful by reason of haste and inexperience. Mistaken Government policies were responsible for much of the expenditure, quite apart from wastage due to other causes. Nevertheless, we have on our hands a great number of American ships and we have an opportunity to play a new part in ocean commerce. Our foreign commerce and our shipping policy are subjects that will concern the Government for several years to come with a variety of difficult problems.

*New Aspects
of
Foreign Trade*

It is obvious enough that for a country like Great Britain, shipping interests and foreign commerce are the foremost matters of governmental concern. For the United States, on the other hand, the development of domestic industry and of internal commerce was the chief consideration for the fifty years from 1865 to 1915. After the outbreak of the great war, Europe needed everything that we could produce or fabricate, while South America and Asia also demanded our products because their supplies from Europe were cut off. Foreign investments in this country in the year 1914 amounted to perhaps six or eight billions of dollars. We had been exporting great quantities of our foodstuffs and

other materials, in order to meet the interest we owed to the people in Europe who held our securities. After the outbreak of the war, American securities began to come back here rapidly in order to pay for the purchases of food, steel, copper, and other American commodities that Europe could obtain nowhere else. After we entered the war, these foreign purchases of our supplies continued on an increasing scale, and our Government used its price-fixing power for the benefit of European buyers as regarded wheat, copper, and various other things. Our Government also asked the American taxpayer to lend billions of dollars to European governments, while also lending billions to our own Treasury for current war costs. Thus the cessation of the war found the United States a creditor nation on a vast scale.

*We Must Buy
Foreign
Commodities*

Whereas before the war we were obliged to send abroad a great deal of our wheat, copper, petroleum products, and other commodities to pay the interest we owed, we are now facing a reversal of conditions. American securities have mostly been returned to this country. Large payments will regularly fall due upon Europe's indebtedness to the United States. Just as we formerly paid our annual interest dues out of the products of our soil, our mines and our factories, even so Europe will have to meet her indebtedness by trading with us in commodities, either directly or indirectly. In former periods our high tariff so operated as to help us import industries, rather than goods. Under the shelter of the protection wall, we built up our textile and metal manufactures, bringing in the necessary labor from all parts of Europe. But henceforth, if we are to operate our merchant ships successfully, and if we are to obtain payment from Europe on account of our loans or investments abroad, we will have to encourage foreign trade; and this must be done with deliberate modification of our traditional high-tariff doctrines and policies.

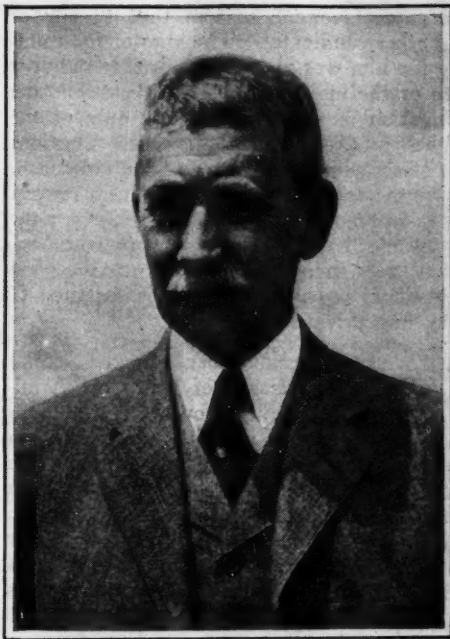
*Wage-Earners
and
Election Results*

It would be, as we have already remarked, a serious error to assume that the Republican victory carried with it anything in the nature of a menace to the best interests of wage-earners, whether belonging to trade unions or otherwise. Undoubtedly, however, the election was not favorable to the doctrines or the methods of the so-called

radicals who are the enemies at once of labor, of capital and of government. The Socialist vote for Mr. Debs showed gains over previous presidential elections, but the Socialist party as a national movement is not growing. Meyer London was elected to Congress as a Socialist from an East Side New York City district, but Mr. London is an exceptionally able and conscientious man, and his victory was a personal tribute. Victor Berger did not this year carry his Milwaukee district. Mr. Debs, who headed the Socialist presidential ticket, has a certain personal following, and a good many people voted for him as a protest against his being held in prison at Atlanta for seditious utterances in the war time. A certain number of conservative citizens, moreover, who did not like to vote for Harding and would not vote for Cox, threw away their votes on a whimsical impulse, and gave them to Debs. Accurate reports of the votes throughout the country for the Socialist ticket headed by Debs, and for the Farmer-Labor ticket headed by Parley P. Christensen will have to await the official returns. Each of these parties expresses gratification and faith in its future growth. Certainly, however, the Socialist party has not been adopted by American workmen to any serious extent, nor has the new Farmer-Labor party earned the right to assume that it has any permanent constituency.

Cabinet Rumors

It was to be expected that the newspapers would busy themselves over the selection of a Cabinet for Mr. Harding. Several of the most esteemed daily journals of the East—none of which had supported Mr. Harding—entered upon this task quite earnestly after they had recovered from their shock of surprise, they having predicted Mr. Cox's election up to the very morning of November 2. Mr. Harding had not disclosed his intentions, and he will take his own time and use his own method in choosing department heads. At the time of his nomination it was commonly thought that he might offer Cabinet seats to two or three of the leading candidates, notably to Governor Lowden and General Wood. Mr. Herbert Hoover is also a popular name among the cabinet-makers. It was natural that Mr. Elihu Root should be in the public mind for the portfolio of State because of his preëminence among Americans in matters of foreign policy. Ex-Senator Sutherland, of Utah, was very actively asso-



HON. ELIHU ROOT, OF NEW YORK

(Mr. Root has been more favorably mentioned by the press of the country for the position of Secretary of State than anyone else. He spent the summer and early autumn in Europe helping to form a plan for a Court of Judicature under the League of Nations. The photograph above is from a snapshot recently taken on shipboard)

ciated with Mr. Harding through the campaign, and it would not surprise anybody if he should be found in the Cabinet group. Ex-Senator Weeks, of Massachusetts, has also been much spoken of—usually in connection with the Navy portfolio; and Mr. Will Hays, who is not accused by anybody of seeking a public office just now, is plainly a newspaper favorite for one thing or another, possibly the Postmaster-Generalship.

Mr. Harding Is Not Hampered

There is one important thing that Mr. Harding has declared with regard to his selections for the Cabinet and for other places. He has constantly said that he means to secure the strongest and best men he can possibly find, and to avail himself of their knowledge, experience, and judgment for the benefit of the country and the success of his administration. Mr. Harding is not under obligation to any man or any group, either for his nomination or for his election. It is absurd to say that any oligarchical group of Senators, or any clique of political managers, forced Mr. Harding upon the Chicago Convention. He was nominated because, after a few trial ballots and much consultation, there were more

delegates favorable to him than to any of the other candidates. The vote of the country for him was so tremendous that the very size of the majority deepens, if possible, the obligation on his part to think only of the highest interests of the nation in his selections for office, while abstaining to the utmost from using the appointive power merely to reward personal or political friends. He has a right to assume that his friends supported him because they thought he would make a good President, and not because they expected to reap any private advantages.

The New Irish Bill
On November 11, the second anniversary of the great Armistice, the House of Commons passed the Home Rule bill. Only about a third of the members of the House were present, and the measure was adopted by a vote of 183 to 52. A handful of Liberals, led by Mr. Asquith, and a handful of Labor members constituted the opposition. Mr. Asquith spoke feelingly of the memories aroused by the ending of the Great War struggle and appealed for a policy of generosity and conciliation in Ireland. Mr. Lloyd George, in his reply, dwelt almost

wholly upon the dangers to England that might result from allowing Ireland any control over its own military forces, over its own harbors, or over any other of a number of functions that belong even to that measure of independence which Canada and Australia enjoy. We have expressed the opinion in these pages on many occasions in the past that Ireland enjoys great benefits from her position in the United Kingdom, and that she would be much more burdened than advantaged by securing independence, even to such an extent as that which belongs to Canada, Australia, and South Africa. But, unfortunately, Mr. Lloyd George seemed unable to discuss the question from the standpoint of Ireland's welfare, and exploited the more vulnerable thesis that a free Ireland would be a menace to England.

Ireland's Need of Britain
Mr. Lloyd George dwelt upon the idea that Britain's safety would somehow or other be at the mercy of the people of the neighboring island. Exactly the opposite seems the better forecast. An independent Ireland must soon realize her helplessness except as Great Britain might continue to be a good neighbor. With the most powerful country in the world (except the United States) lying between her and the continent of Europe, and with her rocky and harborless West Coast facing 3000 miles of bleak ocean, Ireland would be as completely at the mercy of England as an independent Wales would be. In the political sense Ireland has been exceedingly well off ever since the Land Acts, with the measures creating the present county and parish councils, went into effect. Unhappily, the people of Ireland have not duly appreciated the facts of the situation, while the British on their side have in certain ways been tactless and have not gained the sentimental rewards that were their due by reason of their substantial efforts to treat Ireland both justly and generously. Home Rule, as Mr. Redmond and his friends outlined it, could have done no harm. Sinn Fein doctrines and procedure have been harmful to Ireland, while the methods used to meet them have not been beneficial to England.



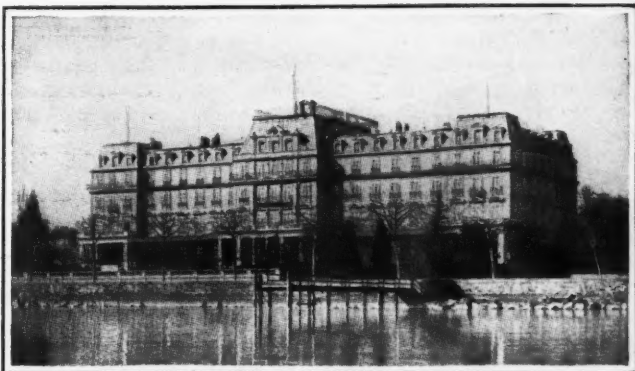
MR. ARTHUR GRIFFITHS, IN HIS DUBLIN OFFICE
(Mr. Griffiths is acting head of the so-called Irish Republic, and is regarded as the principal leader of the Sinn Fein movement. He has recently been complimented by the British Prime Minister as a man of ability and character)

Hunger Strikes Ended
The new Home Rule bill provides for a parliament at Dublin and a separate one at Belfast for six Ulster counties. It also authorizes a joint council of forty members, twenty from each of these local parliaments, to confer upon

certain matters of common interest. The measure went promptly from the House of Commons to secure the assured approval of the House of Lords. It is one thing, however, to pass an unacceptable Home Rule bill for Ireland and quite a different thing to put it into effect. The death in a London prison of Lord Mayor MacSwiney, of Cork, after a hunger strike of seventy-six days, occurred on October 25. This event made a greater impression upon public opinion throughout the world than could have been anticipated. Nine Irish prisoners at Cork persisted in a hunger strike until the ninety-fourth day, when, on November 12, they gave it up, after having received a message from Arthur Griffiths, through Lord Mayor O'Callaghan, who declared that in his opinion the prisoners had "sufficiently proved their devotion and fidelity and that they should now, as they were prepared to die for Ireland, prepare again to live for her." Bishop Cohalan, of Cork, had also urged the cessation of the strike on the ground that the object in view had been accomplished by the manner in which "Lord Mayor MacSwiney's strike accomplished the purpose of attracting world attention."

*The League
in Session
at Geneva*

A meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva, Switzerland, began on Monday, November 15. Only the most narrow-minded persons could have failed to hope that this conference of delegates from many countries might serve to promote peace and good-will. It was expected that Austria and Bulgaria would be admitted to the League, and perhaps Hungary, but that the admission of Germany would be deferred. The new Baltic states of Finland, Esthonia, and Latvia were candidates for admission, as also was Ukrainia, these four republics having been detached from the Russian realms. Iceland and Costa Rica were to be voted on, and so was Georgia (on the Caspian), Luxembourg (adjoining Belgium), and the tiny European states of Monaco, San Merino, and Lichtenstein. The League meeting was not regarded as having vital business to transact at the present time, yet its proceedings were awaited with widespread interest.



THE BUILDING AT GENEVA, SWITZERLAND (FORMERLY A HOTEL), WHICH NOW BELONGS TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, AND IS THE SCENE OF THE MEETING OF THE LEAGUE WHICH OPENED ON NOVEMBER 15

*Fiume
Question
Settled*

The delegations assembled at Geneva with especially hopeful anticipations, because the adjustment of several pending questions of a serious nature had improved the conditions making for peace. Thus the British and French Governments had come to an understanding to the effect that in the near future the exact amount of the German indemnity would be fixed, so that everybody might know exactly what to rely upon. It was also a matter of congratulation that Italy and Jugoslavia had reached an agreement about Fiume and other related issues. Fiume is to be under an independent government, but Italy is to have connection with that city through contiguous Italian territory. The Jugoslavs are to have commercial rights at Fiume, and various other considerations on the Dalmatian coast. The Italians will be in a position to control the Adriatic in a political and military sense. Upon the whole, the extraordinary tenacity of Gabriele d'Annunzio seems to have been rewarded by the establishment of Fiume as an Italian city, even though under a government separate from that of the Italian Kingdom. From the beginning of this dispute it was far more important that the Italians and Jugoslavs should find an agreement of their own than that any particular solution should be adopted. It is to the interest of everybody to promote economic freedom and business coöperation in Southern and Eastern Europe, regardless of political boundaries. It seems that D'Annunzio was far from satisfied with the announced agreement between the Italian and Jugoslav Governments, and he was reported as entering upon fresh projects of military conquest along the Dalmatian Coast that had been assigned by Italy to the Croats.



A SCENE IN THE HARBOR OF DANZIG, THE GERMAN PORT THAT FORMS POLAND'S ONLY ACCESS TO THE SEA

*Now
the Danzig
Question*

With Belgrade and Rome in agreement on Adriatic questions, it would seem impossible for the fiery Italian poet to maintain his self-directed activities. Following the practical disappearance of the Fiume question in its acute phases, the problem of Danzig assumed last month a fresh prominence in European discussion. Ignace Paderewski, the Polish musician, who has assumed even a larger place in politics than the Italian literary genius, forced the issue of Poland's political authority over the port of Danzig in a stormy way at the very opening of the League business at Geneva in the middle of November. Poland needs the use of Danzig for unobstructed import of military supplies as well as for other purposes; and, in view of the experiences of the past year, it would seem to American observers that Paderewski had ground for his contention. In many aspects, the Danzig question resembles that of Fiume. Danzig is a German city, but essential to Poland's access to the seas and to the world at large. Fiume in like manner is an Italian town, but it is the natural outlet on the Adriatic for the great Slavic populations lying eastward. Of the two situations, however, that which affects Danzig and the Poles is by far the more vital. In due time the League of Nations must consider Bulgaria's demand for an outlet on the Aegean. With the power of Premier Venizelos eclipsed as a result of last month's elections in Greece, the future of Constantinople will come to the front as a more serious issue than any of these others.

*Railroads Under
the New
Regime*

Not only investors in railroad securities but pretty much the rest of the business world as well scanned the income returns of the railroads for the month of September, to see how the various companies were faring under the new rates prescribed by the Interstate Commerce Commission to carry out the provisions of the Esch-Cummins law. For the American people at large have now come to realize more fully than ever before that it is absolutely necessary for the business health of the country, and for the comfort and convenience of travelers and shippers, that the roads should be able to earn sufficient income to pay a reasonable return on the capital invested in them, and thus to attract the new capital so sorely needed for additional equipment and for improvements. This the Interstate Commerce Commission aimed to do by allowing the roads the recent increases of from 25 to 40 per cent. in freight rates and heavy increases in passenger and Pullman fares. These new rates went into effect the last of August; and it was generally expected that the month of September would show large resulting additions to gross income with but little more expense incurred.

*Disappointing
Returns*

The actual returns for the month of September were disappointing to those who looked for an immediate rehabilitation of the railroads' earning power. Gross income was, to be sure, larger than in previous months, though not to such a degree as had been forecast by

the heavy increases in rates. Expenses, however, were exceedingly heavy for the month and showed increases which, except in a few instances, wiped out a large part of the additional gross income. It is simply true that on the basis of September returns our railroads could not long continue to function, as the net return to capital in that month was entirely insufficient to urge investors to risk their money. On the face of it, disappointed business men felt that there might be nothing to look forward to except a further increase in rates—anything but a pleasant prospect.

*Allowances
That Must
Be Made*

Much of this disappointment and apprehension was allayed, however, when the practical situation became more fully understood. In the first place, it was found that although the Commerce Commission had authorized the higher rates to begin at the end of August, they were by no means fully in effect through September, because of the opposition of various States to these increases as applying to intra-state traffic and the suspension of the new rates in many instances. Some railroad men have estimated that in the month of September the railroads received not more than half the total theoretical benefit of the new rates, owing to opposition in individual States and to the further reason that a great quantity of freight billed at the old rates was actually being moved during the month of September. Another cause cited by railroad experts for the disappointing showing of the month was the exceptionally heavy maintenance charges made necessary by inadequate maintenance work under Government control. Undoubtedly, too, the sudden depression in certain industries, notably the automobile and woolen factories, and the closing down of plants, contributed to the result.

*When the
Turn Should
Come*

Some railroad experts consider that such causes and others of only less influence will continue to operate, though with lessening influence, through the remainder of the year and that we may have to wait until next February or March, when the January returns can be analyzed and compared with former years, before a just estimate can be formed of the practical working effect of the new railway dispensation in supporting the financial structure of the roads. In the meantime, spokesmen for the private owners and managers of the roads are showing encouraging evidences of increases in efficiency. The Association of

Railway Executives, reporting on their effort to increase the daily movement of the average freight car, and average loadings, say that whereas each freight car averaged 22.3 miles per day when the roads were returned to their owners, the average had on September 1 last risen to 27.4 miles, and that this increase of 5.1 miles per car per day is equivalent to the addition of 510,000 cars to the total equipment. During the same period loadings have increased from 28.3 tons to 29.8 tons on the average, representing the same increase in freight movement that would have been obtained by 90,000 additional cars. This total gain, through efficiency, of the work of 600,000 additional cars means that the same work has been accomplished that would have come, without the gain in efficiency, by the investment of \$2,500,000,000 in the cars and the locomotives required to draw them. There is no reason to believe, furthermore, that the railroads have reached the limits of improved service through efficient methods.

*The Rapid
Drop in
Prices*

The closing down of factories noted in the preceding paragraph was, of course, due to the very sudden drop in consumption by the American public of standard goods and its refusal to renew buying even after very considerable reductions in prices. A half year ago it was noted in this department of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS that the conditions making possible the industrial war boom were changing. The great wealth of the country, high wages and a consequent widely diffused purchasing power contributed a momentum to business which carried it well beyond the shift in underlying conditions. During the past month, the process of "deflating" the war boom has gone on with startling rapidity, leaving many businesses perplexed with the problem of disposing of goods purchased at higher prices. Cotton, which sold at 46 cents a pound at the height of the war demand, had come before mid-November to 18 cents. Copper's high price in the extraordinary industrial period through which we have just passed was 40 cents a pound; large sales have been made in the last month at 15 cents. Leather has come to about half of its high price; rubber to less than half. The suddenness of the collapse in the price of sugar from 25 cents to 10 cents made a newspaper feature. When the corn crop of 1919 was harvested, the price per bushel at the farms was \$1.33; this year it is a fraction over 81

cents. Wheat, which had gone to over \$3 a bushel in the boom times, had come by early November to \$1.80.

*The
Average
Decline*

Iron and steel have begun to decline, and some readjustment in oil prices seems to be altogether probable, although these two basic commodities are, except for coal, the last to show signs of price weakness. Averaging up representative American staple commodities, Bradstreet shows a composite price on November 1 of \$15.6750 as compared with the highest level for the present year of \$20.8690, the latter being also the highest average of the entire war and post-war period. These are, of course, wholesale price movements; and there is, unfortunately, no little delay in their reaching the ultimate consumer in full effect. However, well-defined tendencies to lower prices have already appeared in retail business. Shoes and clothing cost less; the great garment working industries of New York City are going on part time or are closed down; and some clothing merchants are freely predicting that by next spring the prices of their wares will be only about 25 per cent. above the pre-war figures, instead of from 100 to 200 per cent. higher. In other words, if they are correct, a man will next spring pay \$40 or \$50 for a suit of clothes which a year before cost \$100.

*Large Crops
Lead
the Way*

So far as prices of foodstuffs are concerned, the downward movement has been hastened and accentuated by very bountiful production on the farms in 1920. With the crops harvested, the Department of Agriculture announced on November 8 that the corn, tobacco, rice and sweet potato crops of the year were the largest ever raised in the country's history, while the records for oats, barley, rye, potatoes, apples and hay were closely approached. The United States grows more than 75 per cent. of all the corn produced in the world. Our crop this year reaches 3,200,000,000 bushels, and is of the best quality ever known. Owing to the fall in price, however, the crop will be worth to the farmer well over a billion dollars less than last year's. The next largest corn harvest was in 1912, when the December price was 48.7 cents, giving a value of about one billion and a half dollars, as against about two billion and a half this year and nearly four billion at the higher prices of last year. In this year's tremen-

dous corn harvest, Iowa shows the largest yield among the States with 441,000,000 bushels, Illinois second with 302,000,000, and Nebraska third with 251,000,000 bushels.

*The Stock
Market Registers
Deflation*

In spite of this magnificent production of wealth by the farmers and largely because of the rapid fall in prices—a fall in too many cases much more rapid than the decrease of manufacturing production costs—the stock markets have in November continued with accelerated speed the downward movement that began a year ago. This collapse in the prices of standard industrial securities was greatly aided by the unsatisfactory credit conditions and the status of the Federal Reserve Banks, which have been hovering within a point or so of the legal reserve limit. The final result of the stock market's attempt to readjust the quotations of securities to the new conditions facing American industry is fairly startling. A number of the best industrial stocks are now quoted at half the price of a year ago, while others are procurable at one-quarter of the prices of last autumn. In certain of the securities of motor and oil concerns, the market prices are now only one-fifth to one-twentieth of those obtaining last autumn. Some notable examples of great representative American industries follow: General Motors, selling a year ago at 39, was early in November below 15; the great Endicott-Johnson Shoe Corporation had come from 137 to 62; United States Rubber from 138 to 69; the shares of the American Woolen Company from 139 to 60; the common stock of the International Mercantile Marine Corporation from 60⅞ to 15½. While such extraordinary changes were coming in the price of stocks of the great American industries, the bond market has been moving in a contrary direction with a wide and eager demand for the best investment securities carrying the high yields of the war period. This phenomenon, broadly interpreted, means simply that investors feel that in the case of stocks our industrial concerns will not be able to earn nearly as much to divide among shareholders under the new and lower prices; while in the case of bonds the dollars that must be paid to the bondholder by the issuing company to liquidate the debt will be worth more in purchasing power, with the lower prices in force, than the same number of dollars were worth during the period of inflation.



THE ARRIVAL OF FOUR AIRPLANES AT WRANGELL, ALASKA, IN AUGUST

(The planes left New York on July 15, in a test flight of 9000 miles carried out by the Army Air Service mostly over uncharted territory. Mail was carried only incidentally. While the trip to Nome consumed six weeks, the actual flying time was only fifty-six hours during portions of sixteen days. The return flight was made in approximately the same time, and the four planes landed in New York on October 20)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From October 15, to November 15, 1920)

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

October 15.—The State Department, in conflict with customs and prohibition authorities, announces that it assumes baggage of foreign diplomats will not be searched for liquor.

October 17.—John Skelton Williams, Controller of the Currency, criticizes excess interest charges on "call money" in Wall Street in an analytical report.

October 19.—Elihu Root delivers an address at New York, voicing the best views of believers in the League of Nations covenant.

October 21.—In a legislative investigation of housing and building conditions in New York, testimony is adduced to show that builders were systematically held up for bribes to a labor organizer whose union was controlled by a building trust.

October 22.—Republican campaign expenditures for national, Senatorial and Congressional purposes, are announced as amounting to \$3,160,451.76 by October 18; only sixteen contributions were for larger sums than \$1000, aggregating \$38,750; there is a deficit of \$1,500,000.

The Federal Reserve Board estimates, as of September 1, a total currency of \$7,997,080,820, distributed as follows: Treasury, \$485,884,277; Reserve Banks, \$2,031,514,938; elsewhere, \$5,479,681,605; there is an increase of \$13.18 per capita in circulation.

October 25.—Governor Parker of Louisiana requests cotton ginneries to close down for a month until cotton prices rise.

October 26.—Governor Smith of New York orders a special grand jury to inquire into building graft revealed by a legislative investigating committee.

October 27.—President Wilson, in a public statement, insists upon the sanctity of Article X of the League covenant, following a statement by

Mr. Cox that, if elected, he would reach an agreement with opponents of the League.

October 28.—Joseph P. Tumulty, at Bethesda, Md., paints an intimate picture of Mr. Wilson's character as shown during eight years of association as secretary.

Governor Coolidge, of Massachusetts, heads a parade in New York City of 75,000 persons, of whom 15,000 are said to be Democrats.

October 30.—New York City officials adopt a budget of \$346,453,878 for 1921.

The revived Ku Klux Klan makes a street demonstration in Jacksonville, Fla.

November 2.—Electors of President and Vice-President, and Representatives in Congress, are chosen throughout the United States; 34 United States Senators and 35 State Governors are chosen (see tables).

Warren G. Harding (Rep.) is elected President, and Calvin Coolidge Vice-President, with 404 votes in the Electoral College to 127 for James M. Cox and Franklin D. Roosevelt—an unprecedented plurality. . . . The Democrats carry only eleven Southern States, and for the first time since 1868 lose Tennessee.

Elections to the Sixty-seventh Congress result as follows: 307 Republicans, 127 Democrats, and 1 Socialist. . . . In Oklahoma, Miss Alice Robertson (Rep.) is elected as the only woman member of the new House. . . . Republicans for the first time elect a member from Texas.

In the Senate elections, the Republicans gain 10 seats, and will have a majority of 22.

The voters of New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island, South Dakota, and Washington approve State soldier bonus measures.

In California the anti-alien land bill is approved, 3 to 1, on popular referendum.

November 5.—Senators Calder and Edge, of the Senate Committee on Reconstruction, threaten to press a bill in Congress for the nationalization

of coal mines, unless prices drop and profiteering ceases.

November 8.—The United States Supreme Court rules that private stocks of liquor may be moved and stored by owners.

President-elect Harding arrives at Point Isabel, Texas, for a rest and some tarpon fishing.

November 9.—A Congressional committee begins an investigation after charges of graft and political favoritism in Shipping Board operations.

November 10.—A Naval Board of Inquiry begins hearings on Marine Corps administration in Haiti.

Testimony before the House investigating committee indicates that Shipping Board mismanagement, graft, and political favoritism caused many millions of dollars loss to the Government.

November 11.—At New York, a British flag is torn and burned by Irish sympathizers.

Mayor Hylan, of New York City, under examination by the legislature's Housing Committee, admits the building ring fooled him into recommending changes in schoolhouse contracts which added \$16,000,000 to the cost of construction.

War medals are awarded for service in the Navy and Marine Corps; thirteen men get the Medal of Honor.

The Red Cross begins its fourth national enrollment of members.

Sales of hops and malt are restricted by federal regulation to prevent home brewing.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

October 15.—Great Britain places an embargo on coal exports, restricts city lighting and household fuel supply, and rations sugar and food.

In Italy, bomb outrages occur at Milan by anarchists, by Socialists at Rome, Brescia and Bologna, and by Nationalists at Trieste.

October 16.—A million coal miners cease work in Great Britain.

At Halle, German Independent Socialists vote 237 for, and 156 against, adherence to the Third Internationale of Moscow.

October 17.—Germany orders the expulsion of M. M. Zinovieff and Losowsky, Russian Soviet delegates to the Socialist conference at Halle.

An Irish "hunger striker" dies in Cork jail,

UNITED STATES SENATORS ELECTED NOVEMBER 2

Alabama—{ Oscar Underwood, D.*
J. Thomas Hefflin, D.
Arizona—Ralph H. Cameron, R.
Arkansas—T. H. Carraway, D.*
California—S. M. Shorridge, R.
Colorado—S. D. Nicholson, R.
Connecticut—F. B. Brandegee, R.*
Florida—Duncan U. Fletcher, D.*
Georgia—Thomas E. Watson, D.
Idaho—Frank R. Gooding, R.
Illinois—William B. McKinley, R.
Indiana—James E. Watson, R.*
Iowa—Albert B. Cummins, R.*
Kansas—Charles Curtis, R.*
Kentucky—Richard P. Ernst, R.
Louisiana—Edwin S. Broussard, D.
Maryland—O. E. Weller, R.
Missouri—Seldon P. Spencer, R.*
Nevada—Tasker L. Oddie, R.
New Hampshire—George H. Moses, R.*
New York—James W. Wadsworth, Jr., R.*
North Carolina—Lee S. Overman, D.*
North Dakota—E. F. Ladd, R.-N.P.L.
Ohio—Frank B. Willis, R.
Oklahoma—John M. Harreld, R.
Oregon—R. F. Stanfield, R.
Pennsylvania—Boies Penrose, R.*
South Carolina—Ellison D. Smith, D.
South Dakota—Peter Norbeck, R.
Utah—Reed Smoot, R.*
Vermont—W. P. Dillingham, R.*
Virginia—Carter Glass, D.*
Washington—Wesley L. Jones, R.*
Wisconsin—Irvine L. Lenroot, R.*

*Reelected.

In Alabama and Virginia the elections were for short terms to fill vacancies.

Republican Senators succeed Democrats in Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kentucky, Maryland, Nevada, Oklahoma, Oregon, and South Dakota.

GOVERNORS OF STATES ELECTED NOVEMBER 2

Arizona—Thomas E. Campbell, R.*
Arkansas—T. C. McRae, D.
Colorado—Oliver H. Shoup, R.*
Connecticut—Everett J. Lake, R.
Delaware—William D. Denney, R.
Florida—Carey D. Hardee, D.
Georgia—Thomas W. Hardwick, D.
Idaho—D. W. Davis, R.
Illinois—Len Small, R.
Indiana—Warren T. McCray, R.
Iowa—Nate Kendall, R.
Kansas—Henry J. Allen, R.*
Maine—Frederick H. Parkhurst, R.
Massachusetts—Channing H. Cox, R.
Michigan—Alex U. Groesbeck, R.
Minnesota—J. A. O. Preus, R.
Missouri—Arthur M. Hyde, R.
Montana—Joseph M. Dixon, R.
Nebraska—Samuel R. McKelvie, R.*
New Hampshire—Albert O. Brown, R.
New Mexico—M. C. Mechem, R.
New York—Nathan L. Miller, R.
North Carolina—Cameron Morrison, D.
North Dakota—Lynn J. Frazier, R.-N.P.L.*
Ohio—Harry L. Davis, R.
Rhode Island—Emery J. San Souci, R.
South Carolina—R. A. Cooper, D.
South Dakota—W. H. McMaster, R.
Tennessee—Alf Taylor, R.
Texas—Patrick M. Neff, D.
Utah—Charles R. Mabey, R.
Vermont—James Hartness, R.
Washington—Louis F. Hart, R.*
West Virginia—B. F. Morgan, R.
Wisconsin—John J. Blaine, R.-N.P.L.*

*Reelected.

Republican Governors succeed Democrats in Missouri, Montana, New York, Ohio, Tennessee, Utah, and West Virginia.

after sixty-eight days of fasting while a prisoner under accusation of murder.

October 18.—In London, 5000 unemployed parade before the Premier's residence.

In Vienna elections for the National Assembly result in a majority for the Christian Socialists.

October 20.—The motion of Arthur Henderson, in the House of Commons, for investigation of the Government's Irish policy, in effect a vote of censure, is defeated 346 to 79.

October 21.—The British National Union of Railwaymen serves an ultimatum upon the Government that, unless negotiations begin for settlement of the coal strike, they will cease work October 24.

October 23.—Premier Lloyd George invites the miners' executives to meet him and discuss a strike settlement; the railway strike order is suspended.

October 25.—Terence MacSwiney, Mayor of Cork, dies on the seventy-fourth day of his self-imposed fast in an English prison, carried out as a protest against British rule in Ireland.

The young King Alexander of Greece dies of blood poisoning and congestion of the lungs, brought about by the bite of a pet monkey.

Canadian "dry" referendum votes place Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Nova Scotia in the prohibition list.

October 28.—The British mine strike is settled, the men getting a raise of two shillings a day with a further sliding scale based on output.

A Greek regent is selected by the Chamber of Deputies, which votes 137 to 3 for Admiral P. Coundoriotis, Minister of Marine under Premier Venizelos.

Prince Paul, brother of Alexander of Greece, is proclaimed King by the Greek Parliament; as a condition, it is asked by Venizelos that ex-King Constantine, now in Switzerland, renounce all claims to the throne.

October 29.—The Emergency Power bill receives King George's assent, after final passage through the British Parliament; it provides virtually war-time powers to the Government.

The Russian Bolshevik army on the Dnieper River, having withstood an attack by General Wrangel's forces, begins a counter-offensive, crossing the river at Nikopol.

October 30.—Premier Smuts, of the Union of South Africa, succeeds in uniting Unionists and Laborites behind his South African party to run the government, against the opposition of the Nationalist party of General Hertzog.

November 1.—In Cuba, Dr. Alfredo Zayas is elected President by Coalitionists, defeating the Liberal candidate, Gomez.

In English and Welsh municipal elections, 548 out of 747 Labor candidates are defeated.

November 3.—King Albert returns to Belgium after a two-months' absence on a visit to Brazil; he immediately begins a cabinet reorganization.

In the Scottish prohibition referendum, 18 districts go dry, 149 wet, and 24 reduce licenses.

British coal miners vote against the strike settlement by a small majority, but a two-thirds majority is required to continue the strike under union rules; only 75 per cent. of the miners voted.

November 4.—Members of the police force in Ireland, it is announced, are being tried by British court martial for reprisal murders.



GENERAL ROBERT NIVELLE

(Now in the United States to represent the French Government in connection with the observance of the tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrims. General Nivelle succeeded Joffre as commander-in-chief of the French armies, and became a national hero during the defense of Verdun. It is interesting to note in connection with his present mission that General Nivelle is a French Protestant.)

November 5.—General Wrangel's army is driven back into the Crimea peninsula by Bolshevik armies.

November 6.—It is announced that ten policemen were killed in Ireland during the week ended November 1.

November 7.—Mexican Socialists and Liberals engage in armed riots in Yucatan; military officers holding power in 1913, when President Madero was killed, are arrested by the War Office.

November 8.—Italian Socialists gain in municipal elections at Milan, but lose in Florence, Turin, Palermo and Naples; rioting occurs at many points.

In Vienna the Social Democrats sever all connection with the Third Internationale and Lenin.

November 10.—Lieut.-Col. l'Estrange Malone, Liberal M.P., is arrested at Trinity College, Dublin, where he had gone to speak; he is accused of saying that Churchill and Curzon ought to be hanged.

The Austrian Assembly elects new officers: ex-Mayor of Vienna, Dr. Richard Weisskirchner, succeeds Dr. Karl Seitz as First President; Carinthian delegates are present.

November 11.—The Irish Home Rule bill passes third reading in the British House of Commons, with but little debate, Liberal and Labor members being absent; the bill provides for a dual Parliament and religious freedom; the following are reserved to British control—peace and war, foreign affairs, army and navy, coinage, de-

fense, treason, foreign trade, posts, navigation, merchant marine, wireless, cables, and collection of income and excess profits taxes.

November 12.—Arthur Griffiths, Sinn Fein leader, requests Cork jail hunger strikers to take food after ninety-four days of fasting in protest against English rule in Ireland.

November 14.—General Wrangel, his forces defeated, is reported in flight from the Crimea aboard a French warship at Sebastopol, which is rapidly evacuated.

The Hungarian National Assembly ratifies the peace treaty with the Allies.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

October 18.—A Franco-British note to Poland requests a disavowal of the Vilna incident by Zellgouski and acceptance of the authority of the League of Nations.

October 21.—Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, for nearly five years Chinese Minister to the United States, leaves Washington for the post at London.

October 22.—Poland refuses to sign the Danzig Convention until direct negotiations are had for freedom to develop Polish port facilities under the Polish flag.

October 23.—The League Council approves a budget for \$400,000 a month during the coming year.

October 26.—The All-Russian Soviet ratifies the Riga treaty with Poland.

October 27.—Great Britain renounces the right to seize German privately owned merchandise and property in the United Kingdom.

October 28.—The League Council adjourns at Brussels after deciding for a plebiscite on the boundary between Poland and Lithuania.

Rumania, Britain, France, Italy, and Japan sign a treaty handing over Bessarabia to Rumania; the territory was part of Russia, which is not permitted to question the transfer even upon establishing a recognized government.

October 29.—Secretary of State Colby announces at Washington that the letter recently received from Roberto V. Pesqueira, confidential representative of Mexico, "offers a basis upon which the preliminaries to recognition can confidently proceed."

Japan demands apology, and reparation, from China for alleged participation in the massacre of Japanese at Nikolaievsk by Russians.

October 30.—Lithuanian officials evacuate Kovno, as Polish troops advance toward this temporary capital; the government is removed to Shavil.

November 2.—Bavaria is officially requested by the Inter-Allied Control Commission at Munich to disarm militia detachments.

November 4.—A Mexican charged with the murder of two American citizens on October 25 is executed by Mexican authorities.

November 5.—A Franco-British-Italian agreement for maintaining respective spheres of influence in Turkey is made public; France is dominant in Cilicia, Italy in southern Anatolia, including coal mines; Britain's sphere is not defined, and possibly extends to the remainder of the old Turkish Empire.

France and Britain are reported in accord on a

reparations plan that provides for a meeting of German and Allied experts through the Reparations Commission, followed by a conference of Premiers before the terms become final.

November 6.—Italy appoints Senator Rolandi Ricci as Ambassador to the United States to succeed Baron Camillo Romano Avezzano.

November 7.—Turkey again refuses ratification of the peace treaty; Armenians offer no resistance to forces of Turks advancing from Kars and Alexandropol to join with Russian Bolsheviks; Erivan is menaced by Turks and Tartars.

November 9.—It is reported that the Japanese Minister in Peking has been instructed to cancel the military agreement with China under which joint defense of the Siberian and Manchurian border was maintained by Chinese and Japanese.

Bainbridge Colby, American Secretary of State, is instructed to pay formal visits to Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina.

Lithuanians are reported to be reinforced by 12,000 Germans, in fighting against Zellgouski's Poles.

November 10.—Italy and Yugoslavia agree as follows: Istrian frontier in favor of Yugoslavs; Fiume independent but linked by territory to Italy; Zara, Italian, with islands of Cherso, Lussin and Unie.

Chinese troops near Urga, northern Mongolia, defeat Japs, Mongols, and Russians in border skirmishes.

November 11.—The second anniversary of Armistice Day is observed by the Allied world, many tributes of impressive character being paid officially to the hero dead.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

October 15.—The remainder of the \$500,000,000 Anglo-French loan is paid to bondholders at New York.

October 16.—A New York City demonstration in favor of a soldier bonus—to be voted upon at the State election—takes the form of a parade participated in by 50,000 ex-service men.

October 22.—French exports rise 147 per cent. to 16,557,000,000 francs for nine months ended September 30; imports increase 11 per cent. to 27,189,000,000 francs; the adverse trade balance is 39 per cent. as compared with the pre-war normal of 25 per cent.

October 23.—Freight car movements improve; accumulation of cars in yards was 41,135 for October 8, compared with 146,070 on September 1; 18,000 cars are held for export and coastwise movement.

Edwin S. Carman, of Cleveland, is elected president of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers.

October 25.—September imports decline \$150,000,000 compared with August; exports increase \$28,000,000.

November 2.—The American fishing schooner *Esperanto* beats the Canadian *Delawana* and wins the North Atlantic fishing fleet championship in two successive races of dash and brilliance.

November 3.—In Germany, the Deutsche Bank increases its capital from 275,000,000 marks to 400,000,000 and buys control of many other German banks.

November 4.—In New York City, 45,000 out of the 60,000 garment workers are reported idle, pending agreements for increased production and more authority to employers.

It is estimated that six months of private operation of railroads after the end of Government control will cost taxpayers \$656,000,000 under the Government's guarantee.

October failures number 923, with a total of \$38,914,659.

November 9.—British trade figures are announced: total imports £149,880,000; exports of British products £112,290,000; re-exports £16,130,000; total exports £128,420,000.

November 11.—Raw sugar drops to six cents wholesale and refined to ten.

November 12.—Judge K. M. Landis, of Chicago, succeeds a three-man commission as final arbiter in all baseball questions among sixteen major league clubs.

November 14.—Egg exports in the year ended June 30, 1920, from the United States, were 38,326,986 dozen, at \$19,149,536; in 1918 we exported 18,969,167 dozen at \$7,167,134; eggs for domestic consumption are quoted in New York at over \$1 wholesale; 1,590,000,000 dozen are produced here annually.

OBITUARY

October 17.—John Reed, a widely known American radical Socialist and author, 33.

October 18.—Charles Ernest Acker, distinguished electrochemist and inventor, 52.

October 21.—Zebulon Reed Brockway, noted American phrenologist, 93. . . . Adrian H. Hoyt, electrical inventor.

October 22.—Oliver Doud Byron, a leading actor of the latter Nineteenth Century and star in "Across the Continent" for twenty-two seasons, 77. . . . George W. Norton, editor and member of the Maine Governor's Council, 65.

October 23.—Miss Annie White Strathern, pioneer settlement worker and teacher, 73. . . . Mrs. Ellen M. Huntington Gates, poet and hymn writer, 86.

October 24.—Arthur Searle, Harvard professor of astronomy since 1887, 83. . . . Ralph Greenleaf, holder of the world's championship at pocket billiards, 56.

October 25.—Brig.-Gen. Rush C. Hawkins, noted Civil War veteran and author, 89.

October 28.—Milton See, well-known New York architect, 67. . . . Morris Woodruff Seymour, noted Connecticut lawyer, 78. . . . H. C. A. Schmidt, geologist and professor at Hackley School (New York), 60.

October 31.—James A. Gary, Postmaster-general under President McKinley, 87. . . . Count Primo Magri, famous dwarf, 71. . . . Major Gen. E. M. Law, ranking Confederate veteran, 84.

November 3.—Mathias Sendor, miniature and landscape painter, 63. . . . George W. Stevens, of West Virginia, railroad president, 69. . . . Louise Imogen Guiney, poet and essayist.

November 4.—Dr. Luis Felipe Villaran, eminent Peruvian jurist and ex-Minister of Finance.

November 7.—Dr. Samuel James Meltzer, well-known physiologist, who in 1912 discovered a new method of artificial respiration, 69.

November 8.—Abraham Klyper, famous Dutch statesman and journalist, one time Premier of Holland, 83.

November 9.—Robert Wilson McCloughry, noted criminologist, former warden of the State penitentiary at Joliet, Ill., and the federal prison at Leavenworth, Kan., 81.

November 10.—Rear-Adm. Thomas B. Howard, U.S.N., retired, 66. . . . Henry Thode, former professor of history at Heidelberg University, 63.

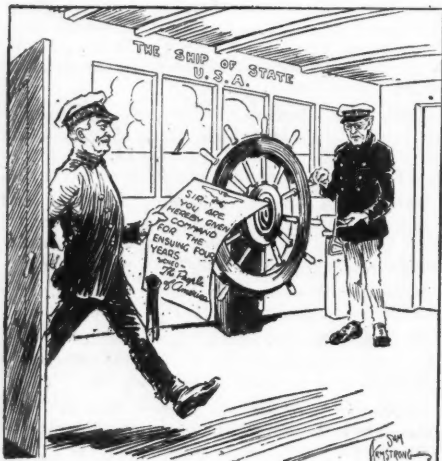
November 14.—William Gardiner Choate, one-time Justice of the United States District Court of the Second District, New York, 90.



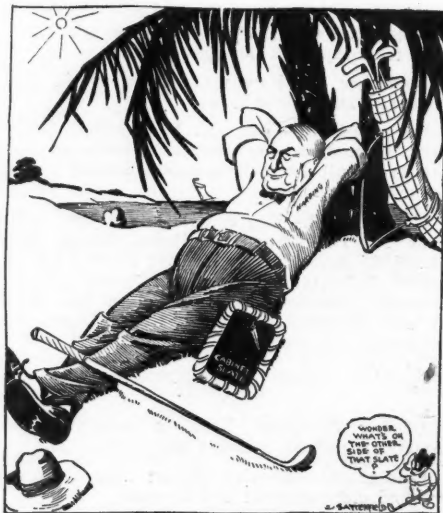
GENERAL BARON WRANGEL AND HIS STAFF, WHOSE SOUTH RUSSIAN ARMY WAS ANNIHILATED IN MID-NOVEMBER

(General Wrangel was the most able of all the leaders who have taken the field against Trotsky's soviet armies. His troops were outflanked at Perekop by Red Army troops crossing the ice on the Sea of Azov, which is rarely frozen. He is the tall figure at the right of the group in the foreground)

THE STORY OF THE MONTH IN CARTOONS



MR. HARDING, THE NEW CAPTAIN
From the *News-Tribune* (Tacoma, Wash.)



FAR FROM THE MADDING CROWD
From the *Newspaper Enterprise Assn.* (Cleveland, Ohio)

THE whole country has been quick to cast off the partisan spirit deemed essential in a Presidential campaign; and there is

plainly a tendency everywhere to give Senator Harding at least a fair chance. There are many real problems to be dealt with, differing—in the opinion of at least one cartoonist—from the issues most discussed during the campaign.



THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS THE
CUSTODY OF THE CHILD!
From the *Daily Tribune* (Sioux City, Mo.)



MR. HARDING NOW FACES THE REAL ISSUES
From the *Times* (New York)



FISHING IN TROUBLED WATERS
[Mr. Harding finds they won't all bite on the same bait]
From the *Evening Post* (New York)



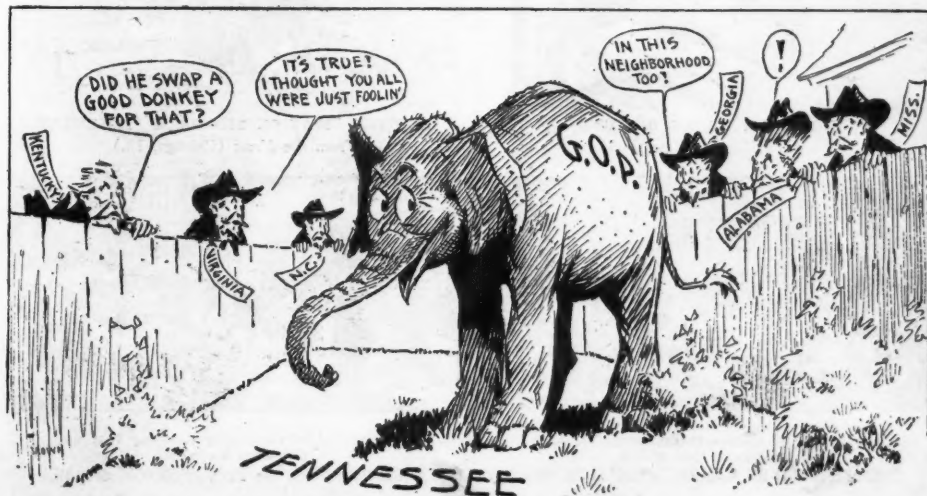
IN CLOVER—From the *Evening Post* (New York)



WAYWARD TENNESSEE
By Knott, in the *News* (Dallas, Texas)



THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WASHED IN BY THE WAVES
By Kirby, in the *World* (New York)



THE NEXT DOOR NEIGHBORS LOOK HIM OVER—From the *News* (Chicago, Ill.)



NOW THAT THE VISITOR IS GONE, LET'S GET BUSY
From the *Star* (St. Louis)



UNCLE SAM AS AN OUTSIDER
From the *World* (New York)



[The period of riotous extravagance we have just gone through]

THERE SHOULD BE A HAPPY MEDIUM BETWEEN THESE EXTREMES—From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



MEXICO, REFORMED, GOES A-WOOING
From *Central Press Association* (Cleveland, Ohio)

On the opposite page, and the one following it, the reader will find some cartoons setting forth various points of view on the political turmoil in Ireland. The attention of the whole world was drawn to Ireland last month by the self-inflicted martyrdom of the Mayor of Cork, Terence MacSwiney, who refused food in an English jail and died on the seventy-fourth day of his fast.



ANOTHER "STAY ON THE FARM" MOVEMENT
From the *News* (Chicago, Ill.)



[The period of paralyzing economy that now threatens business]



IF HE COULD ONLY HEAR THE REAL MUSIC

JOHN BULL: "I wish those discordant Sinn Feiners and Ulsterites would let me hear the lady."
From *Punch* (London)



THE IRISH PROBLEM

JOHN BULL: "For Heaven's sake, Nurse, give that infant whatever he wants."

NURSE DAVID: "I would if I only knew what it is that he does want!"

From the *Passing Show* (London)



A GERMAN VIEW OF AN EPISODE IN IRELAND

LLOYD GEORGE: "We have starved thousands of Boer women, tens of thousands of Indians, and hundreds of thousands of German children; and now they make all this fuss and bother over a simple Mayor of Cork."

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)

[This German cartoon is reprinted here, with due apologies for its extreme anti-British bitterness, merely to show the current feeling in Berlin]



"THE OLD MAN OF THE SEA"
CARSON: "I will be loyal—even if I have to wreck the Empire."

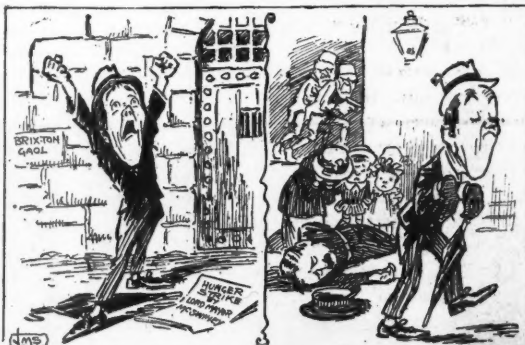
JOHN BULL: "Well, you've made a start."
From the *Evening Telegraph* (Dublin, Ireland)



WHAT HOLDS HIM BACK?
From *De Burger* (Kaaipstad, South Africa)

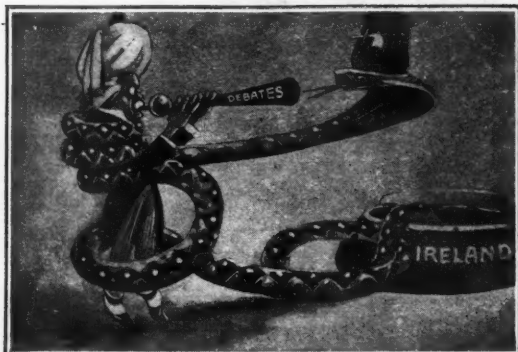


THE BRITISH PREMIER AS AN
EQUILIBRIST
From the *Star* (London)



MISPLACED SYMPATHY FOR THE "HUNGER-STRIKER"
"How monstrous of the Government to allow a poor fellow-creature to commit suicide!"
"Dear me! Another policeman shot dead for doing his duty! Well, I suppose it can not be helped."

From the *Western Mail* (London)



CAN LLOYD GEORGE DO IT FOREVER?—From *Bystander* (London)

ITALY AND THE NEAR EAST

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. ITALY'S UNREST

IN the past half-year the movement of armies, the clash of battle and the signing of memorable documents have combined to concentrate the attention of the world upon the northern frontiers of Europe, upon the marches of what was until recently the great Romanoff Empire. The fate of the newly reanimated Poland, the aspirations of the Baltic States, the clash of Bolshevik ambitions for world domination with Polish aspirations for national restoration—those have supplied the topics of discussion and subjects of popular interest. Yet, while the north has been the scene of great developments, events have also marched in the south and east, on the shores of the Adriatic and of the Egean.

In the present article, then, briefly, I mean to review some of the more striking of these circumstances which have affected the domestic and foreign relations of the nations of the south and have disturbed or still continue to trouble the peace of the world. And in this discussion it is necessary first of all to deal with the unrest in Italy—unrest which is at one time economic and political, has effected a complete change in the leadership of the nation, and tends to drive Italy toward new alignments in European councils.

We have all seen the return of Giolitti to power and there is no denying the fact that this return has excited apprehension, stimulated regret, confounded expectations in many Allied countries. For beyond all else, Giolitti is remembered outside of Italy as the politician, or statesman, who sought to prevent Italy from entering the World War on the Allied side in the spring of 1915. Had Giolitti prevailed it is not too much to say that the Allied cause might temporarily have been lost, remembering that Italian entrance coincided with the crushing Russian defeats at the Duna which were the beginning of the downfall of Czardom.

But Giolitti has come back and his return represents the deliberate judgment of Italy that the policy which he advocated, whatever the motives which explain his advocacy of

it, was a wiser policy for Italy and would have resulted in far less suffering, disappointment, present chaos and future menace, than that which drove Giolitti out of power and forced Italy into the battle-line of Europe.

Let us then recall precisely what was Giolitti's advice. He opposed Italian entrance into the war because he was satisfied that Italy could obtain large territorial concessions without participation, that the war was by no means approaching an end, and thus that Italy's chance of sharing in the gains of victory was passing. He advocated neutrality, rewarded by Austrian territorial concessions and through neutrality the preservation of Italy's slender economic resources.

But in 1915 the Italian peninsula was swept by an emotion and at the same time dominated by a calculation. Leaders of Italian patriotic sentiment saw the hour come when the completion of the unification of Italy was possible, when Trieste and the Trentino, the Dalmatian shore and islands could be won for Italy, and they perceived that no Austrian concessions would include Trieste. At the same time, Italian statesmen concluded that Allied victory was within sight and that if Italy failed to share in the battle, she would equally lose in the peace, stand outside the circle of the victors and of the vanquished alike.

So Italy entered the war and the nations which welcomed her as an ally set their signature to that Treaty of London, which exactly fixed the rewards Italy was to have: the Alpine frontier from the Swiss boundary to the Adriatic shore west of Fiume, including the whole of the upper valley of the Adige to the Brenner, Trieste and Istria, in addition, the northern half of Dalmatia, with the islands, a protectorate over Albania, possession of Smyrna and the east coast of Asia Minor, together with Rhodes and the Dodecanesus. Finally, compensation in Africa, if Britain and France increased their real estate on this continent.

This was the promise, when the terms were first whispered. Giolitti, from his place of exile, sneeringly inquired why Fiume had been left out. The effect of his query was

felt at Paris, where his challenge had to be met and Orlando and Sonnino did not dare to sign any treaty which denied their country this additional gain. But at the moment, the Treaty of London represented a real Italian profit. Aside from Fiume, not yet an issue, it gave Italy all that her patriots and her statesmen had demanded from the moment when Bismarck deserted her in 1866, as France had failed her after Magenta and Solferino.

Now it is essential to recognize, in dealing with the Italian situation of to-day, that the circumstances of Italian entrance into the war were quite different from those of France, of Britain or of Russia. France and Russia were directly attacked; Britain declared war because she felt her safety indirectly menaced. Self-preservation explained the decision of all these nations to fight, and determined the character of their resistance. But Italy was not attacked; neither her immediate nor her eventual security was involved. Her concern was to rescue Italians under a foreign yoke, and to complete her national renaissance. But since her intervention meant victory to the Allies, she was justified in pledging them in advance to guarantee her possession of her Irredenta:

II. THE GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT

From the Italian point of view, then, the Treaty of London was a contract—a contract in which Italy paid first; and it remained for her allies to see that her ultimate reward arrived. But not only did Italy pay in advance, but she paid far beyond any calculation of her statesmen, and at the least to the extreme limit of her resources. Instead of Allied victory in 1915, there was Russian collapse and Anglo-French stagnation. A year later, while Britain was still unready, France bled at Verdun, and Italy met defeat on the Trentino frontiers and just escaped grave disaster.

Despite the later victories at the Isonzo, Italy did not conquer Trieste nor reach Trent. In the next year her brief victories at the Isonzo, purchased at terrific cost in men and material, were followed by the supreme disaster of Caporetto, the loss of half of Venetia, and the approach of Austro-German armies to Verona and Venice. Under the menace of invasion, Italy rallied at the Piave and stood at bay heroically, but the close of the third campaign of the war for Italy saw her with her territories in enemy

hands, her losses in men and treasure mounting to unbelievable heights, and no reward as yet even within sight.

With the collapse of the German armies after July, 1918, Italy at last freed her soil, after having to withstand one final Austrian offensive. At last her armies crowned the Alps at the Brenner Pass, occupied Trieste and the Julian Alps, took root in the northern half of Dalmatia. So far the profits assured her by the Treaty of London seemed largely in her hands. The price had been excessive. For generations, Italians would feel the burden of the costs, but at the least the rewards seemed in hand.

But in Paris, Italy encountered not the welcome of Allies, not the prompt and unqualified readiness of her recent associates to fulfil their half of the bargain which had been so expensive for Italy, but the opposition of President Wilson, which not alone ruled out the claim preferred by Orlando and Sonnino to Fiume as an extra reward, earned by extra service, but resolutely denied Italian claims to Dalmatia, to Greek islands, to Albanian shores. In all the long months of the war, for Italy, her sons had encountered as their chief enemies on the Isonzo the soldiers serving in Austrian armies, but belonging to the Southern Slavic races. Now, at Paris, President Wilson demanded that to these same races should be assigned the eastern shore of the Adriatic, and even the Italian city of Fiume.

It was of no moment to the Italians that their claims conflicted with the rights of small nationalities to self-determination, as assured by one of Mr. Wilson's famous points. For them the issue was clear; they had the word of France and Britain, the signature of both to the Treaty of London. Were their allies to make this treaty another "scrap of paper"? First of all, then, Italy appealed to her allies; to France first, to Britain next.

But France and Britain were under the constraint of a policy designed to insure American participation in European affairs by doing the wishes of President Wilson, particularly when those wishes imposed no sacrifice of their own aspirations. Neither nation actually repudiated their bond, but both insisted that Fiume was not mentioned in the Treaty of London, and that they were therefore free to stand with the President on this question, while they made little disguise of their sympathy with his stand in the matter of Dalmatia.

And so, in the end, Italy went home, withdrew from the Peace Conference. She held and holds Dalmatia. D'Annunzio has taken and holds for her Fiume and the adjoining islands, but the Southern Slavs are watching in arms. An Adriatic Question has been born and the Slavs feel that they have received the moral endorsement of the United States for their claims, and are prepared to contest with Italy any attempt of the Italian nation to transform present occupation into permanent possession, whether in Fiume, where D'Annunzio lingers, or in Dalmatia, where Italian garrisons and international guards are both present.

The inability of Italy to get a prompt and favorable settlement of her claims in the Adriatic, imposed upon her enormous additional expenses. Her armies could not demobilize; her fleets had to remain on war footing. Between herself and the new Jugoslav state a condition of armed truce, hourly threatening to change into actual conflict persisted, and still persists. Encouraged, too, by the Wilson doctrine, the Albanians began by systematic murder of Italian garrisons and ended by inflicting defeats and expelling Italian forces. The protectorate of Albania is no more than a vanished ambition.

Nor is this all. In Asia Minor it is Greece and not Italy which holds not alone Smyrna, but all the hinterland, has extended her frontiers almost to the Bagdad Railway, while in Europe she has acquired all of Thrace up to the old Chatalja lines covering Constantinople and to-morrow, with British approval, expects to take over Constantinople itself. And in the Egean Hellenic claims to the Dodecanesus, founded upon Wilsonian principles, seem certain to prevail, while Greek aspirations to Northern Epirus similarly enlist European approval.

III. THE BALANCE-SHEET

Italy has then to reflect upon her balance-sheet for the World War. In proportion to her slender resources, the costs have been greater for her than for any of her great allies. In proportion to her sacrifices in men and in money, her rewards have been the least considerable. More than this, where her aspirations were strongest, where they conflicted with peoples whose sympathies had been, on the whole or at least in part, German rather than Allied, her French and British allies, as well as her American associate, have not merely declined to support

her, but have openly championed the cause of her rivals.

As to the eastern shore of the Adriatic, Italian views correspond with French opinions as to the Rhine barrier. If France is apprehensive on the German side, Italy is disturbed as to the Southern Slavs. But in the French conception of a reorganized Europe, Jugo-Slavia is an essential link in the French chain. French influence is busily at work, not alone in supporting Slav claims against Italian in the Adriatic, but in seeking to construct a confederation of the small states of eastern and southern Europe, which shall bar German advance to Russia or to Asia Minor. France, then, wishes Jugo-Slavia strong. Italy desires that it be weak, fearing attack from that direction. And, as French views prevail, Italian resentment mounts.

Again, as to Greece. In this country Italy sees her real rival in the Near East, which is, in the nature of things, the field in which the Italian expects to prosper commercially. But not only has Greece acquired Salonica, Smyrna, the great islands of the Egean in recent years, but Britain is backing Greek claims to islands occupied by Italy in the Egean and making Greece into something like the economic soldier of Britain in the Near East, showering upon the Greeks rewards which are rapidly transforming their nation from an insignificant Balkan state into a considerable Mediterranean power.

In Asia France has acquired Syria and Cilicia, Britain Mesopotamia and the Arab lands south of Palestine, which passes under British influence, while Italy's share is a relatively unimportant region about the Gulf of Adalia. In Africa Britain has acquired German East and Southwest Africa, while France has acquired most of the Congo and of Togo, assigning the balance to the British. In addition, France has consolidated the title to Morocco and completed her acquisition of what all Italians regard as the Roman estate in North Africa. As for the "compensation" promised Italy, it is comprehended in two desert areas—one in the Somali, ceded by the British, another in the Sahara, surrendered by the French, each visible on the map, but neither representing any greater gain than providing a new opportunity for Italian military operations.

It follows then that Italy has reacted. She has called back Giolitti, who opposed the participation in the war. She has manifested toward the United States a resentment hardly

to be exaggerated. Her necessities have driven her to a sort of economic alliance with the British, but toward the French she discloses a hatred and resentment which passes anything in recent history and provokes a growing bitterness in France which makes for permanent estrangement, despite the conciliatory gestures of the respective statesmen.

But even Giolitti finds himself in the presence of domestic disorders almost beyond his control. In the last election the Socialists only narrowly missed winning complete control, and no ministry can endure against their will. Labor has fallen back upon direct action and laid violent hands upon factories, imitating Bolshevistic methods—not yet in a fashion to shed blood, but certainly to a degree to destroy public order and to lay hands on private property.

Foreign policy, yielding to domestic compulsion, supports Russian Reds against the Poles, the French, the Americans, favoring recognition and political and commercial intercourse, supports the British against the French in seeking the reduction of the German indemnities, since the Italian share is below 10 per cent. Italian troops have been recalled from Albania, following defeat and in the face of the threat of domestic riot, but as Italy retires, the advance of French armies in Syria awakens fresh denunciation.

Actually Italy, despite her territorial gains, has suffered more in victory than Germany in defeat. Her allies have denied her claims to territories, some of them promised in advance as the reward of her participation and all of them asked in the name of an actual if exaggerated notion of national security. Her ancient enemies are now supported by her recent friends. Her traditional rivals are profiting by a generosity of her associates of yesterday, largely employed at her expense.

I do not think it is possible to exaggerate Italian disillusionment, nor can I see any possibility of wondering at it. Financially crippled, plunged into domestic disorders as a consequence, faced with foreign complications intensified by the unfriendly course of her recent allies, Italy looks with at least a measure of hope now to Russia and now to Germany, as she looks with ever-growing bitterness toward France and the United States and even toward Great Britain, with whom her present relation, if necessary, is not less humiliating to one of the proudest of peoples.

IV. THE LITTLE ENTENTE

Nor is Italian opinion quieted by the fact that there is rising in the region between Vienna and Constantinople something which gives promise of developing into an alliance, which, once constituted, must become a powerful factor in all European calculations of the future. To-day this alliance is in its first stage. It is no more than an agreement between Jugo-Slavia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, designed to provide mutual insurance against a Magyar renaissance. Rumania, friendly as always to Italy, has expressly stipulated that Adriatic questions shall not concern the alliance, that Jugo-Slavia must not expect help in any collision with Italy. Nor is Czechoslovakia more interested.

Already the alliance tends to expand. Greece, through Venizelos, asks admittance, and Greece has a common interest with Jugo-Slavia and Rumania in guarding against a Bulgarian effort to regain lost provinces for the possession of which the Bulgars have fought three wars in less than a decade. To-day the Balkans are filled with gossip of a marriage between Alexander, regent and heir to the Jugo-Slavic throne, and a Rumanian princess, and forecast of the adherence of Greece to the Little Entente, while there are also suggestions that Austria, also menaced by the Hungarians, may join.

Beyond this lies the practical certainty of a Polish-Rumanian alliance to defend their frontiers against a common Russian peril, Bolshevik to-day, but perhaps nationalistic to-morrow. However much separated by recent disputes over Teschen, now divided between them, Poland and Czechoslovakia have a common interest and a common danger in all German questions, for Czechoslovakia contains more than 3,000,000 Germans, while Poland has annexed two German provinces, separated East Prussia from Pomerania, and may yet acquire Upper Silesia.

Here, then, is the material out of which may be constructed a Central European Confederacy, extending from the Baltic to the Egean, including Poland, Rumania, Jugo-Slavia, Czechoslovakia, and Greece, encircling Bulgaria and Hungary and perhaps ultimately enlisting Austria, as well as Hungary and Bulgaria, powerless in the face of such a coalition. But such a coalition would insensibly come to be constructed upon the mutual interests of all concerned.

Juglo-Slavia, in return for the assurance of Rumanian and Polish assistance on the Adriatic, would promise equal aid on the Dniester and the Niemen. Economic co-operation following military, naturally, all would be led to support Jugo-Slavic claims for a free exit upon the Adriatic.

For France such a confederation would be of first importance. It would bar German efforts to expand to the south and to the east, it would offer a sound foundation for French foreign policy based upon the conception that the decisions of the Versailles Treaty, so far as they affect Germany, must be maintained. A Central European Confederation would in no single detail conflict with French interests. In many circumstances it would be a natural complement of French policy. Such a confederation would restore a balance of power in Europe, even if the British retired, as the Americans have, and Germany returned to strength and ambition.

But if France naturally seeks to encourage and promote such a confederation, Italy equally earnestly seeks to prevent it, since it would replace Austria-Hungary by a new power on the eastern shore of the Adriatic and give new strength and vitality to the Southern Slav claims which conflict with Italy's on that sea, while adding to the strength and assurance of the rapidly expanding Greek state in the Egean. Thus Italy would prefer to see Austria seek and obtain union with Germany, as certain Austrian and German politicians have demanded in recent months.

But in the Treaty of Versailles exists a paragraph forbidding this union, save by unanimous consent, and France, for obvious reasons, objects to adding six million to the population of her great enemy and thus undoing the work of Paris, so far as reducing German area and population was concerned. Fortunately for the French, a recent Austrian election gives confirmation to their assertion that the mass of Austrians do not seek such a union. But here, while Italy and Germany have a common wish, France faces both, seeking to strengthen her position by expanding her influence with Central European states.

And so we have now beginning in Central Europe a three-fold policy: the French policy, which seeks to restrain Germany by supporting the states created by the Paris Conference and to promote their mutual friendliness, aiming at the creation of a Cen-

tral European confederacy, restraining Germany on the east and the south, as France mounts guard on the west. We have the slow but unmistakable drift of these Central and Eastern European states toward such a confederation or alliance for reasons of self-preservation, and we have the German and Italian effort to prevent such a coalition, because it would injure the special interests of these two states.

Add to this fact the further circumstance that the British for a multitude of reasons tend to sympathize with the Italians and Germans rather than the French, and the present struggle in European relations is disclosed in its larger aspects and in features familiar to every student of Continental history from the 'Thirty Years' War onward.

V. PROBLEMS OF GREECE

The tragic death of young King Alexander of Greece has revived all the problems of recent years—the more since the death corresponded with the period of greatest domestic tension. Moreover, immediately thereafter Greece passed through the most momentous general election in its modern history, an election in which the one dominating issue was the renewal of the mandate of Venizelos, or the elimination of the great Cretan and the return to the régime of the Germanophile Constantine.

Had Venizelos won in that election, there would have been left to this great statesman sufficient time in which to consolidate his great achievement and not impossibly with British aid to add Constantinople to the long list of recovered Greek cities. If one chooses to seek a measure of what Venizelos has accomplished for Greece, he need go no further than to compare the map of Greece of 1912 with that which at the current moment represents the still expanding frontiers of the Hellenic world.

Eight years ago Greece was still a tiny principality with barely 2,500,000 inhabitants living on an area little more than half of that of New York State—25,000 square miles in round figures. But already Venizelos had reorganized the domestic affairs of Greece, and the state, which had been not only disastrously but disgracefully defeated in the Turkish War, where, to say the least, Constantine's part had not been distinguished, possessed a respectable army and a solvent treasury.

But in 1912 Venizelos succeeded in uniting



THE TERRITORIAL EXPANSION OF GREECE WITHIN RECENT YEARS

(The two shaded sections show the acquisitions following the Balkan wars and the new claims resulting from Greek participation in the World War)

the Greek, the Bulgar and the Serbs, mutually hostile over a thousand years of sanguinary history, in that Balkan alliance which at Kumanovo, Lule Burgas and Yenidje Bazar swiftly routed great Turkish armies and finally, in the face of an amazed and hostile Concert of Europe, accomplished the ruin of the Turkish Empire in Europe.

A few months later, when Bulgaria, led by Austro-German intrigue, attacked Serbia and Greece treacherously, the Bulgar armies were overthrown by the Serb at the Bregalnitz, by the Greek at Kilis. The fruits of these two victorious wars were for Greece Southern Macedonia, Western Thrace, the great city of Salonica, many islands in the Egean, including undisputed sovereignty in Venizelos's own island of Crete. In a year Greece doubled her area and her population.

In the World War, Constantine long successfully blocked Venizelos and, dominated by the German Queen, sister of the Kaiser, served German ends. But ultimately Venizelos triumphed, Constantine fell and went into exile, and in the general European set-

tlement which followed Greece acquired eastern Thrace, western Asia Minor. Adrianople and Smyrna were added to Salonica; new islands in the Egean were gained. The Greece which emerged from this conflict was three times as large as that of 1912, and its population had been proportionately increased.

More than this, at last, after six hundred years of slavery and weakness, the road was at last open for a return of Hellenic, or if one choose, Byzantine supremacy in the eastern end of the Mediterranean. Not only had Venizelos enlisted at Paris the support, as he commanded the admiration, of the statesmen of the larger powers, but he had acquired the powerful patronage of the British, who saw in Greece the successor of the Turk as the defender of the vital strategic lands and waters where Asia and Europe meet.

But Venizelos by his very greatness obviously provoked domestic jealousy. A big man, a man so completely dominating his own country and so completely concentrated

upon the larger problems of national deliverance, in the nature of things gave little rein to the minor politicians and the petty intrigues. Constantine, who cared for his own interests, not those of Greece, had always been willing to sacrifice national concerns to dynastic considerations. The old intrigues of 1915-18 were thus resumed. From Switzerland the exile king directed his campaign. In France, Venizelos narrowly escaped death and suffered disabling wounds from an assassin, who served the interests if he did not obey the orders of Constantine.

Finally the death of the young Alexander, the victim of monkey-bite—one of the most tragically ridiculous accidents in all history—precipitated a new crisis. His brother Paul was asked to succeed, but Paul far more than Alexander is under the thumb of his father Constantine, and the wisdom of permitting him to reign was at least open to question.

Now, as I read the proof of this article, dispatches from Athens announce the defeat, or at least the "near"-defeat, of Venizelos; and between the two there can be no real difference. To win at all, Venizelos was compelled to win decisively, and this he has not done. Constantine will not now resign his claims in favor of Paul; the son will hardly venture to take his father's place. As for the prospects of a republic or a new dynasty, both seem certain to fall.

The defeat of Venizelos will beyond question mean a postponement, if not a permanent check to Greek expansion. It will mean a break with the great powers, notably France, who will never forgive her murdered sailors done to death in Athens on the orders of Constantine personally. Italy, jealous of Greek triumphs, correctly perceiving in Greek expansion the creation of a dangerous rival in the eastern Mediterranean, and determined, if possible, to keep Greece out of Northern Epirus and to retain the Dodecanesus, will profit by the occasion. Britain may suffer Constantine in silence, but British views of the King—for them "Tino" in the war period—will hardly suffer material change.

Actually, the recent Greek election may prove one of the decisive events in the history of modern Greece. Already the presence of the Serbian regent, Alexander, future sovereign of the Kingdom of the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes, at the funeral of the Greek King, had stimulated gossip as to the possible revival of the old Serbo-

Rumanian-Greek alliance, which followed the Second Balkan War—and this meant in reality the admission of Greece to the Little Entente, and thus adequate insurance for the Greeks against Bulgar attack, either toward Salonica or Adrianople. But with the defeat of Venizelos, his work is imperilled at once and the complete liberation of the Greek populations of the Near East postponed.

VI. ASIA MINOR

We have had in the past month the proclamation, or rather the publication, of the terms of partition into spheres of interest of Turkey in Asia. I have already indicated to my readers the general character of this agreement. It assigns to France the Syrian and Cilician coasts, the hinterland extending across the middle reaches of the Euphrates through Southern Kurdistan to the more or less mythical frontiers of the still undefined Armenia, but omits Mosul, definitely assured to the British by a bargain made by Clemenceau at the Paris Conference and bitterly regretted by his successors.

In accordance with these terms France has already occupied Beirut, Aleppo, Damascus and Homs, chasing away the Emir Feisal, ally and friend of the British, who sought to revive the ancient Arabian state and found for his project endless British support. Gouraud, victor of the decisive battle in Champagne in 1918, which was the first stage of the Second Marne and before the war one of the conspicuous French colonial soldiers, has made his solemn entry into Damascus, and the French Syrian adventure is thus well launched. But if Arab resistance has failed to materialize, the French have had, are still having, difficulties in Cilicia—battles and sieges in which their troops have encountered Turkish forces in all the region which is known as Little Armenia and lies within the area claimed for the Armenians by their champions.

Westward of the French sphere, between Cilicia and the coast facing Rhodes, the Italian interests are, by the recently published treaty, recognized as supreme, while Italian right to stay in Rhodes until the British quit Cyprus is confirmed in a provision which allocates to Greece the islands of the Dodecanesus, so bitterly contested between Italian and Greek ever since Italy acquired temporary title by occupation in the Libyan War of 1911. In the hinterland of this Italian

sphere lies the valuable coal district of Heraclea, which also passes to the Italians, although French capital has hitherto directed the enterprise.

Granted that the economic resources of this region are considerable, it is still easy to perceive why the Italians feel that they have fared badly, since the best portions of this western end of Asia Minor are occupied by the Greeks, together with Smyrna, once promised Italy. Moreover, it is fairly clear to the Italians that the Greeks, with British assistance, may at no distant date occupy Constantinople itself and reopen the old rivalry between Rome and Byzantium in all the Near East. Nor can the Italians feel that their acquisitions, provided they presently seek to expand economic spheres of interest into colonial conquests, compare favorably with those now occupied by the French or the Greeks, much less those of the British.

By the same treaty Britain acquires exclusive control of Mesopotamia, including the Valley of the Tigris to a point above Mosul, and of the Euphrates from the edge of the Syrian desert southward, as well as the supervisory rights over the new state of Palestine. In sum, Britain, France and Italy have, with minor modifications so far as the French and British are concerned, carried out the war agreements. Italy suffers materially at the expense of Greece.

But both the French and the British find themselves confronted with grave problems in their new territories. The British have been compelled to maintain huge armies, expend enormous sums, and the net effect of their great effort, as charged both in the British press and in Parliament, has been the alienation of the Arab population. At the present hour there is a frank demand in England that the British "scrap" the Mesopotamian adventure. But there is no sign that this course will be adopted.

France is only less occupied in dealing with the Arabs and with the Turks, and a large French army, mainly composed of Colonial troops, to be sure, is at present required in Syria and Cilicia. But the worst phase of this eastern problem is to be found in the degree to which it has poisoned Anglo-French relations. All through the Paris Conference the Foreign Offices quarreled. The French insisted that the British should keep to the terms of the Sykes-Picot agreement, which gave France Mosul as well as Syria. The British argued that they were bound to keep some of their compromising

promises to the Arabs, who had been faithful and useful allies of the British, who, in turn had supplied the armies and done the work of conquering Syria as well as Mesopotamia.

The struggle was complicated by the presence of Mr. Wilson at Paris, and his fight made upon "secret treaties" as such and made against treaties which distributed territories without regard to the rights or wishes of the inhabitants. Led by his Fourteen Points, Mr. Wilson not unnaturally fell in with the British championship of the idea of an Arab Kingdom, but to the French this meant substituting a British controlled native sovereignty over all of the French and British spheres for the divided rule of Britain and France stipulated in the Sykes-Picot pact.

In the end, the French, save in the Mosul detail, had their way. But when this way led to the prompt elimination of Emir Feisal, the friend, ally, and perhaps in a measure the creation of the British, and the negation of all British promises made in this portion of the East during the war, British resentment was great and continues. The French, on their part, deeply resent British success in forcing France to yield in the case of Mosul, where the real issue at stake is oil. Even here, however, France retains the rights to a quarter of the product, so her diplomatic defeat is not complete.

We have seen, then, in recent months, the slow but sure division of western Asia between European powers exactly as Africa was divided a generation ago. Only in the case of the Greeks has the right of self-determination been regarded and only here because it served the interests of the dominant sea power. As to Constantinople, it remains nominally in the possession of all the Allies, but actually the British rule there and will be able to determine its destiny. As I have said, their present inclination is to turn it over to the Greeks.

As to Armenia, that unhappy land seems to be enduring a double martyrdom. Assailed by the Turks from the west and the Reds from the east, abandoned by all the western nations, it seems doomed to remain the outcast of civilization, the eternal confutation of all the noble pledges and idealistic utterances of Paris. It is one bit of the world's surface in which the difficulties of occupation and defense are so great that the cupidity of colonizing nations of the west is chilled, while it lacks the resources and therefore the chance to protect itself.

VII. THE ADRIATIC SOLUTION

As I close this article, announcement is made that Italy and Yugoslavia—meeting at Rapallo, near Genoa, the scene of more than one historic conference in recent years—have reached a final settlement of their Adriatic dispute. The terms of the settlement, still only roughly indicated, establish Italian claims to a frontier following the crests of the Julian Alps from the Austro-Italian boundary to the Adriatic just west of Fiume (a slight eastward extension from the so-called "Wilson Line"). Italy is given the city of Zara in Dalmatia, together with the islands of Cherso and Lussin, facing the east coast of the Istrian Peninsula, and the island of Lagosta, much farther south. In addition, a new and wholly independent state of Fiume is recognized, with a frontier co-terminus with that of Italy—the proposal vetoed by President Wilson himself a few months ago. Yugoslavia acquires the rest of Dalmatia.

Generally speaking, this represents a victory for Italy on almost all contested points, for it is plain that the Italian character of Fiume will be preserved and ultimate union of that city with Italy is assured. On the other hand, save for the Zara enclave, which is of little significance, the Slavs acquire all of Dalmatia, including the portion assigned to Italy by the Treaty of London. All things considered, the solution is rational and not only the best now obtainable, but the only solution which has ever been possible and the only solution which could conceivably endure.

The result of the Conference of Rapallo is a great gain for the peace of the world. It may lead to a final elimination of the nascent Adriatic question, which was becoming a very troublesome element in the European situation. The real test must be the spirit in which the agreement is accepted by the nations concerned. If Italy seeks to strangle Slav commerce by its improper use of power at Fiume, trouble will result. If the Southern Slavs preserve their aspirations for Trieste and Gorizia, as well as for Fiume, the Adriatic question will enter a new phase and the Treaty of Rapallo will represent no more than a compromise.

But the Conference of Rapallo was marked by almost unexpected moderation and good sense, and both Italy and Yugoslavia have innumerable reasons for desiring peace at present and for seeking to live in amity rather than rivalry in the future. Italy has by this treaty at last achieved her reunion.

She has acquired her natural frontiers, and on the whole she has not much exceeded them. Unmistakably Yugoslavia has been called upon to make sacrifices, to suffer 500,000 Slavs to pass under Latin rule; but even with this sacrifice Yugoslavia has acquired more by the general peace settlement than the most ardent patriot could have hoped for a decade ago, and the problem of creating a nation out of the recently assembled fragments of the Southern Slav family remains difficult.

Next month I mean to review briefly all of the various agreements which have been made in the present year and represent the last phase of the liquidation of the World War; and at that time I shall return to the Adriatic agreement. But at the moment it is enough to note that it holds out very real promise of proving a solution of a difficult question. It is at least significant that, while the Treaty of Rapallo is the most important single arrangement of the year, next to the Armistice of Riga, like that earlier agreement it has been reached without the intervention of the League of Nations.

I have devoted so much space to other subjects that I must now postpone for another month the discussion of the latest phase of the Russian struggle. Wrangel has gone the way of Lenine's other foes, of Kolchak, Denikine and Yudenitch. The explanation of the military defeat lies in the transfer to the South of the Red troops released from the west by the preliminary peace with Poland, signed at Riga.

Had Poland been supported by the western nations in further military operations against the Reds, Wrangel might have triumphed—at least he might have won material successes, but Poland single-handed could only make peace, profiting by the Red necessities. Whether next spring will see a resumption of Bolshevik attacks upon Poland remains to be seen. At least it is highly probable. Meantime Poland is suffering in western eyes as a result of the course of a Polish general in imitating D'Annunzio and occupying Vilna, far more essential to Polish security than is Fiume to Italian.

In this struggle it is worth noting that Prussian troops are supporting the present Lithuanian government, for the obvious reason that permanent possession by the Poles of Vilna closes the single railway left to the Germans for intercourse with Russia, already deprived of her Baltic seaports by her surrender of her Baltic lands to the Letts, Esthonians, and Lithuanians.

FRANCE: THE COUNTRY OF COMMON SENSE

BY PROFESSOR CHARLES CESTRE

(Of the Sorbonne, Paris)

M. MILLERAND, newly elected to the highest post of the government of the French Republic, personifies the best qualities of the people which has almost unanimously hailed him as the guide of its destinies. When Alexandre Millerand made his *debut* in politics, some thirty years ago, he was a socialist—not of the rabid, rather of the constructive, species; yet radical enough to fly such political kites as the expropriation of capital, the socialization of the means of production, and the like. This was the youthful exuberance of a sincere, but not yet matured, idealism.

Millerand: a Socialist Transformed

His distinguished natural talent and rare acquired powers soon pushed him on to positions of responsibility on committees of the Chamber and in the Cabinet. Through contact with the realities of politics, he threw overboard the wind-bags of socialistic doctrine, which were dangerously pitching and writhing above his head, and set himself up as a resolute social reformer, inspired by generous principles, acting on a bold program of justice for all, but no longer the sport of emotions and unruly impulses.

Versed in legal lore, experienced in the leadership of men, knowing the dexterous and skilful ways of parliamentary debating and maneuvering, withal a hard worker and indefatigable investigator, he devoted himself to disciplining the energies of the labor groups, slowing down their intemperate hopes, while turning their young vigor into useful channels. He did much to give lawful force to the right of coalition and to make the *syndicats* and the *Confédération Générale du Travail* regular organs of the claims of labor, instead of revolutionary organizations and fomenters of trouble; he led the way to establishing a recognized procedure of arbitration; he was often chosen as impartial umpire in labor contests by common agreement of the parties.

A Practical Statesman

Thus, in middle age, Millerand became several times a cabinet minister, and was looked upon as one of the most efficient and reliable statesmen in the French Parliament. A noticeable fact: he, former socialist, was Minister of War just before the worldwide conflict broke out, having come to the conviction that the conquests of democracy could be made secure only by building a strong military force against the impending threat of an ambitious and ruthless power, plotting to bring the world back to medieval despotism. He was the first, in 1914, to organize France into a huge munition factory in order to enable her to hold her own in the vast "industrial" war, in which courage and genius would have been of no avail unless supported by heaps of steel shells and oceans of explosives.

Among the statesmen who years ago sowed their wild oats—French fashion—in the socialist fallow field, Millerand stands with the distinct characteristics of steady industry and sturdy common sense. Briand is the brilliant inventor of new ideas; Viviani, the eloquent tribune; Millerand, who darts no sudden short-lived flashes of genius, nor fills public halls with the beat of sounding periods, works out carefully weighed principles and fully elaborated schemes by dint of clear-sighted intelligence and sustained energy. He believes in compromise and conciliation as the best means of settling human disputes. There hovers about him a winning manner that melts obstinacy and anger.

Clemenceau, the doughty old fighter, patient only in the expectation of pouncing upon his prey and tearing it to pieces, was the fit Premier for war-times; Millerand, courteous and steadfast, accommodating yet firm in the defense of right and justice, ready to enter the avenues to adjustment, yet no further than self-dignity and sanity counsel, is the fit leader for times of peace. His

thorough success in the delicate post of Governor of Alsace-Lorraine, where he had to harmonize many contending elements, bids fair to make him a successful President, when old-time party squabbles and class antagonisms must give way to the great new motto, *union sacrée*.

Demands of Industrial France

The French people greeted Millerand's election with joy, because they see in him the living representative of the policy which they wish the country to follow. France, the mother of international idealism, is strongly in favor of the League of Nations. The League, if it is to prevail, must be a partnership based on *realistic* grounds. No idealism can live unless it takes a strong footing on the solid earth.

There must be an equal desire for peace and respect for law among all nations: we insisted that Germany should show her peaceful and law-abiding dispositions by proceeding to disarmament. There must be a willingness on all sides to fulfil pledged engagements; we insisted that Germany should deliver to Italy and to us the quantity of coal stipulated in the Treaty.

We did not find England very eager to back our claims. England had caused the German navy to be destroyed, and had nothing to fear from Germany's land-army; England had not had her factories battered down, her mines ruined, her soil upturned, her villages and cities laid waste; she could be patient, the more so as she had coal to sell to us (three times the home price). *We* had not only fought, but suffered, for all the Allies: it was our right, proffered without acrimony, but with firmness, to exact "reparation." We are above inflicting a "penalty." We are sensible of the inelegance of "complaint." We stand on the ground of unimpeachable, irreparable right.

Yet Millerand wanted, above all, good understanding to reign among the Allies. England required us to *pay* for the German coal that ought to have been handed over in compensation for the destruction of our home sources of supply, and to pay a price high enough not to place British coal at a disadvantage: Millerand yielded. He yielded on the question of the punishment of the culprits; he yielded on the question of the occupation of Frankfurt. But he reserved the full rights of France as to damages, restoration of stolen property, and reconstruction of the devastated areas.

French industry cannot remain crippled while German factories, untouched and unscathed, are working full steam on; our country people cannot go homeless, while the destroyers of our cities sleep comfortably under their roofs; we cannot continue paying twenty-five billion francs a year for reconstruction, while the "scientific" barbarians who shelled cathedrals, blew up our city halls, hammered our looms to atoms and flooded our collieries, plead incapacity to pay their debt. The ruined and bereaved peasants of our Northern and Eastern provinces do not plead inability to live in holes and cellars and to resume work without implements, without money, without comfort.

They set an example to all those who are more or less under the demoralizing influence of the war, and, forgetful already of the sufferings and of the uplift of the dreadful and heroic years, loudly assert their claims, proffer their contentions, and think only of selfish satisfactions. The noble spirit of the Northern and Eastern populations has, at any rate, spread throughout France and worked highly gratifying results. I may say, without boasting, that we are better off, in a more balanced and more promising social status, than our allies and near neighbors, England and Italy.

Defeat of the Labor Extremists

The May strike was a straw fire kindled by a handful of extremists, whose brains, unsettled by the war, had become too easily a prey to the poisonous doctrine of Bolshevism. The Confederation of Labor had followed only half-heartedly, not to lose its credit with workmen by seeming to desert the cause of labor. The failure of the strike (due as much to the indifference of the mass of the wage-earners as to the firm and devoted attitude of the "bourgeois" class) has had beneficent consequences.

The whole issue was the triumph of French common sense—common sense of the government that abstained from military display and from reprisals; common sense of the middle class, which without an outcry in the press, without any fuss or ostentation, quietly took the places of the workers in the posts necessary to the continuance of the life of the nation; common sense of the working class, as a whole, which, after a demonstration for the sake of "solidarity," gave up the nefarious struggle and came to their jobs in a more faithful spirit than before.

Recently, in the last days of September, the chief national unions and the Confederation of Labor held their annual conventions. In all of them the extremists were beaten, voted out of the governing boards, and sent away rather disdainfully to the Third International and their Muscovite instructors.

The inevitable words of sympathy with "Russia struggling for her liberty" were pronounced, but the French workmen, through the mouths of their authorized leaders, declared themselves distinctly in favor of Polish as well as of Russian liberty, thus diverging from the attitude and conduct of their British brothers. As regards Russian affairs, they are much nearer the position of American workingmen.

A Constructive Labor Movement

They still talk "revolution"—because they cannot all at once break away from all the past—but they mean "evolution." The Federation men call themselves "syndicalists," thus emphasizing their intention to take a firm stand on the professional and corporative ground, and keep away from the "socialists," whose political campaign and political tactics they disown. They are making a great constructive effort in building up what they style the *Conseil Economique du Travail*, a board composed of workmen, technicians and coöperators, who are to work out the future régime of industry.

The syndicalists do not represent the whole of labor, for union men in France form only one-fourth of the contingent of manual workers. The technicians on the board are former workmen who have raised themselves to the position of engineers—not always with full right to the title. Lastly, the coöperators are only a small force, with scanty resources, for coöperation in France has not yet reached any great proportions. But the board, such as it is, represents an attempt to organize Labor, Intelligence, and Capital—from the workmen's point of view, with the workmen's sole resources and on the workmen's own intellectual light.

The attempt is crude, and, when one reads the details of the scheme, rather vainly ambitious. But such endeavors are not to be regretted or despised. They are a sign of the intention of the workers to get into touch with realities. It is a long step ahead, on the part of men, who, before the war, had enrolled under the banner of Marxism and declared labor the *only* factor

of production, to recognize at least the needs of capital and the existence of technical knowledge and competency. Through a tactful and opportune move, the employers may improve the opportunity to bring about new relations with their employees and establish some sort of collaboration, either at the plant, or through the channel of joint industrial boards.

Industrial Democracy in France

This is not a mere surmise. There is a stir among French employers to devise new plans and start new methods. They all agree that, after the lesson received in May, the workmen are much better disposed to consider *concrete* projects of social reform instead of flying loose into the misty realms of Utopia. The same movements that are developing in American industry are being started—at least in the incipient form of inquiries and conferences—in the French industrial world, namely: scientific management, payment by results, profit-sharing appeal to the human factor, industrial democracy.

The French method consists rather in legislative measures, applicable to the whole country, than in individual experiments born of private initiative. There are bills being prepared on "arbitration," "profit-sharing," "works-councils." But the employers are suspicious of government-made machinery to solve social problems. They have combined with the purpose of taking concerted steps, according to general principles, yet with variations conformable to the individual features of each concern or industry. While maturing their plans, they have become more and more interested in the American precedents. A book treating comprehensively of social reforms in American industry, already advertised, is eagerly awaited.¹

As time passes and the shock of the war dies out, the kinship of the American and the French spirit appears in stronger relief. In both countries, enlightened realism and individual energy, commanded by the sense of public service, are leading progress toward *social democracy*. America and France stand together in their horror of the criminal and destructive ways of the communists temporarily in possession of power in Russia. To-morrow they will join hands in the great task of furthering the peace of the world. Their solution will be sane and broad—the solution of common sense.

¹Editor's note: Professor Cestre's own book.



THE STRUGGLE FOR THE NILE

BY WILLIAM E. SMYTHE

THE struggle for water is the epic theme of arid lands. So it is in the western valley, where irrigation is newest; and so it is in Egypt, where irrigation is oldest. The struggle between the fellow highest up on the stream, and the older irrigator down toward its mouth, is the invariable plot of the story. This is the latest aspect of the oldest irrigation problem in the world—the problem of the Nile, with Egypt in the rôle of the fellow (or let us say *fellah*) having the ancient claim, and with the Sudan as the latecomer occupying the strategic point for storage and diversion up near the source of the stream.

Now bring in the colossal spirit of Kitchener of Khartum, seeing in the control of the Nile (such is the Egyptian nightmare) a strangle hold on Egypt for all time to come; add the spectacle of great English engineers accusing each other—the one of misrepresenting and suppressing essential information, the other of seditious libel; bring in a couple of official boards making futile reports on the merits of the dispute; and, finally, a commission of disinterested outside engineers, unspoiled by Egyptian experience, charged with the duty of finding and declaring the truth, then of laying down a set of principles for the allocation of the waters of the greatest irrigation stream in the world, and accepting American doctrine as the cornerstone. Visualize this situation, and you have a view of the problem which Egypt finds on her doorstep just at the dawning of her new independence.

The Country of the Nile

In order to comprehend it, the reader should begin with a study of the accompanying map, drawn for the specific purpose of illuminating the situation on the Nile. It is a part of a document entitled "Nile Control," written by Sir Murdoch MacDonald, adviser to the Egyptian Minister of Public Works, in explanation of the projects in contemplation, with a view to the ultimate development of the fullest possibilities of the system.

The situation in Egypt itself is as plain as an old shoe: Cultivable and habitable Egypt—it is an agricultural country pure and simple—begins at the Aswan Dam and extends northward to the Mediterranean Sea. Upper Egypt consists of a single valley 500 miles long, ranging from four to eight miles in width, and ends at Cairo. Lower Egypt, with about twice the area, is the spreading delta fan beyond Cairo, at the mouth of the stream.

Cairo, with a population now reaching well up toward a million, and the seaport of Alexandria, are the big towns; but the whole length of the river is lined with villages—homes of the fellaheen, who cultivate the outlying lands, owned mostly in tracts ranging from 2000 to 5000 acres by rich Pashas. The narrow valley is flanked on either hand by a line of low hills, and then by vast deserts that defy any hope of reclamation; so that, extensive as the country appears on the map, one would hardly expect it to sustain a large population.



However, Egypt has many more people than the city and State of New York. The census of 1917 gave it 12,751,000, which represents an increase of 87 per cent. since 1882. With the same rate of growth, Egypt will have 20,000,000 people in 1955, when the works projected, and now in controversy, shall have been completed and in operation.

Much the larger portion of the country of the Nile as shown on the map belongs to

the Sudan, which begins at Wadi Halfa and extends southward for thousands of miles. It will be noted that Khartum, the Sudanese capital, lies at the junction of the Blue and White Niles, and that these two rivers inclose the Sudan Gezira—a tract of 3,000,000 acres of level, fertile, irrigable land—the certain hope of the Sudan, and the possible menace of Egypt, since very little of it is watered at the present time. Almost directly east lies Lake Tsana, over the line in Abyssinia, of importance because of its storage possibilities on the Blue Nile. About 700 miles south of Khartum are Lakes Albert and Victoria, principal sources of the river system. The reader should also note the Sudd region, traversed by some of the tributaries of the White Nile, since the rectification of natural conditions in the Sudd is one of the greatest hopes of enlarged service from the system.

Such is the country of the Nile, stretching from the semi-tropical shores of the Mediterranean thousands of miles southward into Equatorial Africa—an arid land, with millions of people dependent for their very existence on a single river system, with urgent need of vastly more water, only to be obtained by the adoption of thoroughly scientific methods, and at a cost at least half as great as that of the Panama Canal.

Evolution of the Nile System

At the present time the Nile is serving a total area of 5,300,000 acres, which places it at the head of the world's irrigation streams. Of this area, only 100,000 acres are in the Sudan, the remainder being in Egypt between Aswan and the sea.

Until comparatively recent years water was utilized chiefly at flood-time, by means of canals cut in the banks of the river, and applied to the lands by the well-known basin system. The land was annually enriched by the deposit of silt; but it is interesting to note in passing that the famous Nile silt is only about one-sixth the quantity, and in no respect better in quality, than that carried by our own Colorado River. The basin method is still employed but has become decidedly secondary to the far more scientific and valuable method of perennial irrigation, which not only extends the period of cultivation but, as we shall presently see, alters the character of production and immensely augments the country's income.

Rameses II built the first irrigation works centuries before Christ. Those were de-

signed to take the peak of the flood and put it into the Fayume Basin. They were considered remarkable for their time. They enabled the country to live, sustaining a large population upon the benefaction of the Nile floods, which raised the river some twenty feet for an average period of sixty days in each year, usually during the months of September and October.

So Egypt went through the centuries—the vast majority of her people poor, working for a wage of ten cents a day; most of them illiterate, as 95 per cent. of them are at the present time. There was no margin above bare subsistence, nor could there be while the old methods held sway. What Egypt needed in order to become truly prosperous and raise the standard of living for all of her people was some industry in which she might become preëminent—some crop that would be in demand for export and that would bring a steady flow of money into the country.

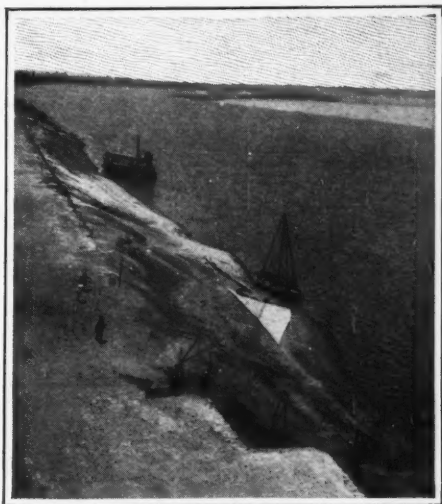
The Great Viceroy Plants Cotton

This need was perceived by Mehemet Ali, the great Viceroy, whose tyrannical but constructive rule ended with the middle of the Nineteenth Century. He introduced long-staple Egyptian cotton, a product worth three times as much as the common sort, and demonstrated its value as a source of great and enduring prosperity to Egypt. This cotton, however, could not be profitably grown under methods that had existed from the time of the Pharaohs. It is distinctly



RAISING NUBIAN PEAS AT THE WATER'S EDGE ON THE EAST BANK OF THE NILE

Dec.—4



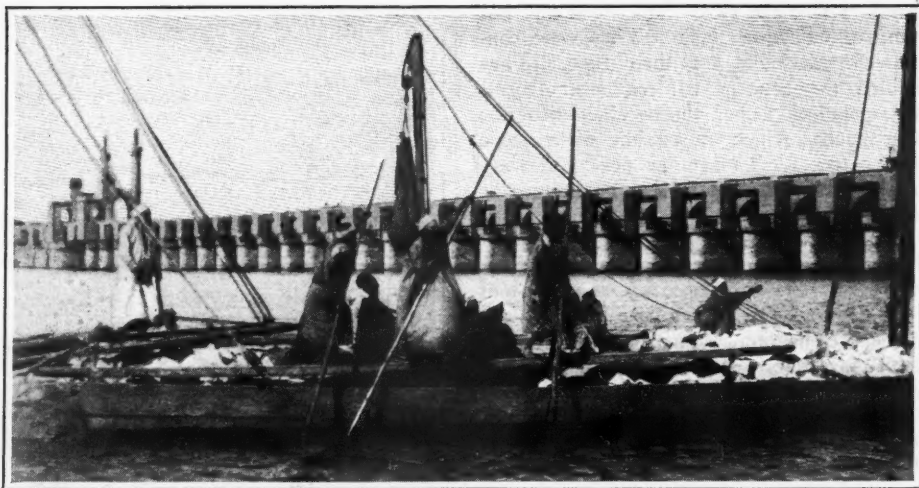
LOOKING DOWN THE BLUE NILE FROM KHARTUM

(In the foreground can be seen the crude native method of raising water from the river, principally for irrigation purposes)

a desert plant, and requires a nicer adjustment of moisture than can be secured by the old system of filling basins at flood-time. The need was for perennial irrigation, and this in turn called for better control of the stream.

Mehemet Ali had shown the way; his successor essayed to follow it, calling to his assistance French engineers, who built the famous Delta Barrage just below Cairo. This work was in fact a diversion weir, which permitted a better control of the stream—raising the water to permit of its diversion at the low stage, and thereby prolonging the length of the growing season. It demonstrated the possibility of the wide extension of cotton culture, though as an engineering work it was not successful. The great pressure of the water forced it out of place, and it was not until English engineers built a second barrage—a dam without gates, designed chiefly to raise the water level—that its full benefits were obtained. The results were then so successful that more water was constantly demanded; two other weirs of similar pattern were erected in the stream above Cairo, as shown upon the map.

It was in 1880 that Egypt, having gotten into debt for some \$500,000,000, fell into the hands of her European creditors—English, French, German, and Spanish. The country at the time, and for several centuries previously, belonged nominally to Turkey. It



THE DELTA BARRAGE ACROSS THE NILE, SIXTEEN MILES NORTH OF CAIRO

soon fell under the actual domination of England, a condition which has endured for forty years. England went forward with the development of the Nile, and the greatest monument to its rule is the Aswan Dam, the reservoir of which extends 150 miles up the river. With the completion of this structure, perennial irrigation became the predominant method and cotton was crowned king in Egypt.

The New Age in Egypt

The Aswan Dam is more than a monument to English enterprise and English engineering. It is the token of a new age in Egypt. Since thousands of years before Christ, the Egyptians had tamely conformed their lives and industries to the habits and vagaries of the Nile. They had taken the crest of its flood in crude canals; they had raised water from the stream by means of buckets attached to long poles, dumping it from pool to pool, often as many as four lifts, before it finally trickled out over the thirsty soil. They had been content with mere subsistence in a land that, under scientific development and well-ordered industry, was capable of great things.

The lesson was now so plain that it was seen, not only by the intelligent and educated leaders of Egypt, but by the rank and file of the illiterate fellaheen. Why not? The patient toilers of the field saw their wage increase from ten to seventy-five cents a day; they saw the insistent demand for long-staple cotton, produced only in Egypt and the southwestern deserts of America, raise

land values to \$1000, to \$1500, and, in the neighborhood of Cairo, even to \$2500 an acre. Water had done it! The demand, then, was for more water; for the development of the utmost possibilities of the Nile; for science in place of chance, that man should come into his rightful heritage.

Lord Kitchener's Part

The Aswan Dam was built in 1903 and raised in 1912. Every inch of its stored water was promptly put to use, and there was not enough of it to go around. In consequence, landowners were permitted to plant only half the cotton acreage they desired. This was a matter of consequence to the Egyptian treasury as well as to the cultivator, since the country looks almost exclusively to water rentals for its public revenue. Land without water pays no tax, and the tax varies with the quantity of water furnished from year to year. Water, then, is the measure of prosperity, alike from the public and the individual point of view.

In 1912 Lord Kitchener ruled the Sudan—a vast raw land chiefly inhabited by naked aborigines, but with a modern capital at Khartum. The Sudan was formerly a province of Egypt; but the blood of Gordon and the sword of Kitchener made it essentially British territory, though nominally it is now a co-dominion, flying two flags—British and Egyptian—the British always at the right. It was Kitchener who officially fathered the grand projects of the Nile, whoever may have suggested them. It was Kitchener who put the plan through the

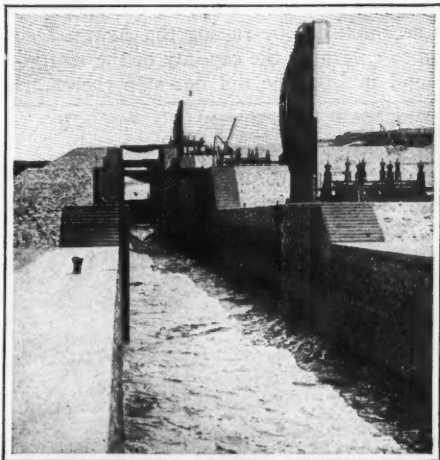
British Parliament and secured an initial credit for the Sudan to permit actual construction to begin. Then came the World War and the suspension of activity.

The Grand Projects on the Nile

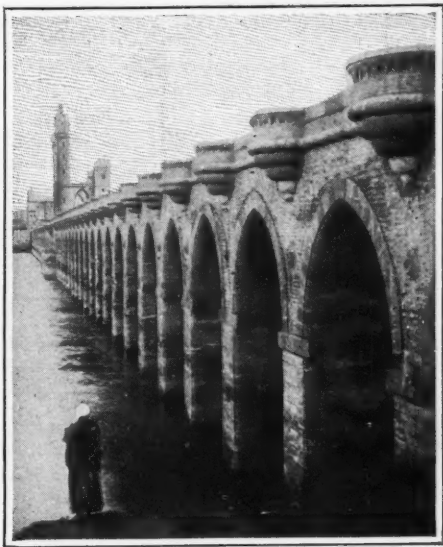
The complete development of the Nile, as planned by English engineers and statesmen, would add approximately 5,000,000 acres to the productive area of the valley, every acre of it suitable to the growing of long-staple cotton. This would raise the total to 10,000,000 acres of irrigated land. Of the new area brought under cultivation, 2,000,000 acres would be in Egypt and 3,000,000 acres in the Sudan. The estimated cost of the work is \$250,000,000. At that figure the great undertaking should return its entire cost every year.

The project is planned in three steps, all easily comprehensible by reference to the map: The first step is the building of two dams—the Gebel Aulia, 40 miles from Khartum on the White Nile, and the Sennar (or Makwar), 200 miles from Khartum on the Blue Nile. The first of these structures would store a vast quantity of the clear waters of the White Nile to be added to the summer flow of the main stream and sent down to Egypt; the second is almost wholly for diversion of the waters of the Blue Nile, which furnishes all the silt at flood stage.

The Sennar Dam will provide but little storage. It is ideally situated to water the Gezira, which constitutes practically all the land it is proposed to irrigate in the Sudan,



OVERFLOW CHANNEL AT THE END OF THE ASWAN DAM



THE BARRAGE ACROSS THE NILE NEAR CAIRO

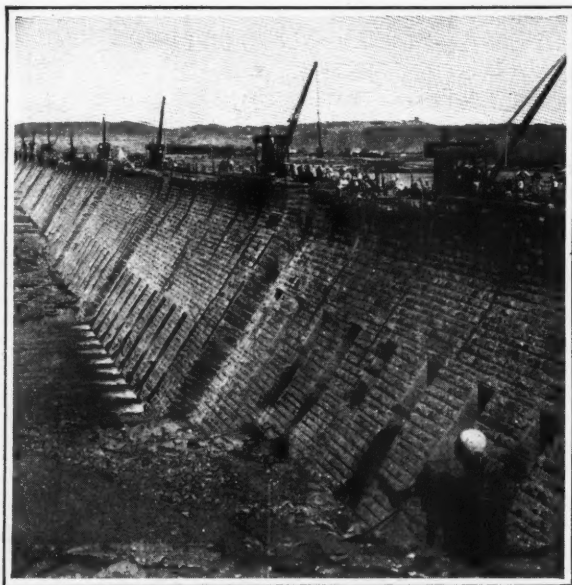
(Showing the side opposite from that pictured on page 610. This Delta barrage, built many years ago, proved so beneficial to Egyptian agriculture that others of similar pattern have since been erected)

though there are millions of acres on which crops can be raised by dry farming and also great ranges suited to live stock. The Sennar Dam is now under way, the money being advanced by the British Government, in accordance with the arrangement made by Lord Kitchener before the war. Some 7000 laborers are employed.

The second step will be the storage of water on the Upper Blue Nile at Lake Tsana, in Abyssinia. This will greatly increase the amount of water available for use at low stages of the river.

The third and final step in creating the grand project is the utilizing for over-year storage of Lakes Albert and Victoria, and the drainage of the Sudd region, where tremendous waste now occurs. To avoid the loss of water in the Sudd calls for the construction of a canal 225 miles long, 1000 feet wide, and 40 feet deep—about twice the yardage of the Panama Canal. The first storage development will supply only 600,000 acres; but the second adds another million, and the third serves four million. The over-year storage on the Blue Nile will consist of 9,000,000 acre-feet; that on the White Nile of 75,000,000 acre-feet. Big figures!

Such are the foundation stones of the new agricultural empire that the new age promises to erect in northern Africa.



THE FAMOUS ASWAN DAM ACROSS THE NILE

(First completed in 1903, and then raised in 1912. It is nearly two miles long, averaging more than sixty feet in height. There are 180 openings through which water may escape as it is needed for irrigation. It has been estimated that 37 billion cubic feet of water can be impounded by this dam, and there is not enough to go around!)

Then the Trouble Began

The announcement of these great plans, instead of arousing unanimous enthusiasm for the future of the country, precipitated the same sort of controversy as that which marked the development of many a stream in western America. It was the age-old struggle for water in arid lands—this time not between rival claimants in a sparsely settled valley newly won from the desert, but between millions of people occupying the oldest irrigated valley in the world. It was, however, the same contention, in essence, since it arrayed the senior appropriator low down on the stream against the junior appropriator near its head; Egypt against the Sudan; the land fertilized and reclaimed by the Nile against the land whence comes the Nile. Such was the line-up.

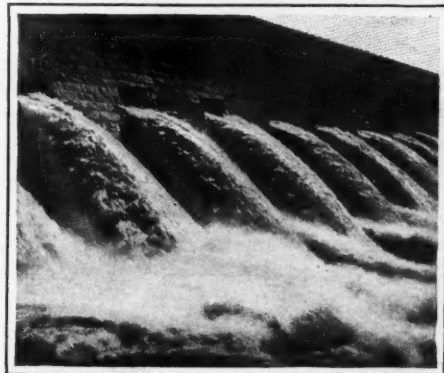
The Egyptian engineers, men of trained minds and intensely patriotic, rose in a body against the proposed works, on the ground that they would store the water outside the frontiers of Egypt and thus give the rulers of the Sudan the power of life and death over their country. Standing in awe of Lord Kitchener and the imperial power he represented, they feared he had conceived these grand projects from the military rather

than the economic point of view, and that he would grant or withhold the saving waters from season to season, according as Egypt should or should not dance to British music. In that case the coveted national independence would be a mere shell; the kernel would reside in the great reservoirs above Khartum.

Sir William Willcocks

The Egyptians found a powerful ally in the person of Sir William Willcocks, the great English engineer, who, after distinguished service in India, had come to Egypt in 1882 and played a singularly interesting part in the development of the country. He it was who projected the great Aswan Dam, though it was built after his retirement from active service. Sir William loves Egypt and Egyptians; he is the trusted friend of the humble fellaheen, and has constantly worked to improve their conditions in life. He is largely responsible for the abolition of the *corvée*—a system of compulsory unpaid labor formerly used in ditch cleaning and river protection. At the age of seventy-three he makes his home in Cairo and continues to work for the plain people of Egypt.

In their name and behalf he raised his voice in protest against the Kitchener program, asserting that the Nile belonged exclusively to Egypt and should be stored only within its borders. This, he claimed, could be accomplished by raising the Aswan Dam, and so enlarging the capacity of the reservoir behind it. But he did not stop there. He



WHEN THE SLUICES OF THE ASWAN DAM ARE OPEN

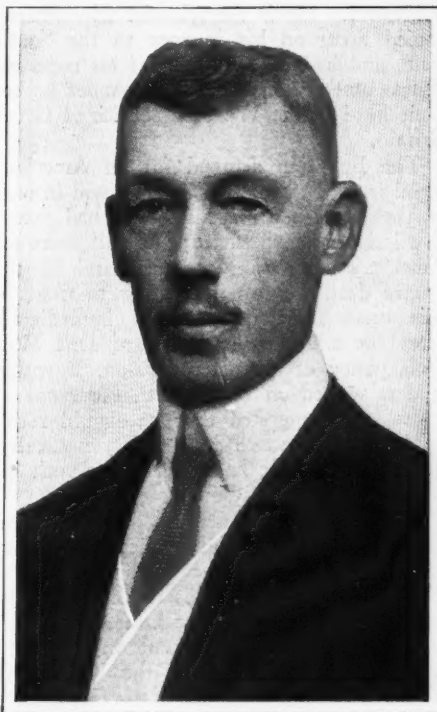
went on to charge that the British authorities had deliberately overstated the total available supply in order to make out a case for the proposed reclamation of 3,000,000 acres in the Sudan; and to that end had misrepresented facts and suppressed essential information. In his attitude on the technical questions involved, he was joined by Colonel M. R. Kennedy, Director of Public Works in the Sudan. These two high English authorities, combined with the Egyptian engineers and the public opinion of the country, soon created a situation in which it became impracticable to proceed with the grand project as Kitchener had planned.

The British Bulldog Hangs On

England had done much to expand the material prosperity of Egypt, as her sternest critics do not deny. She had now set her hand to one of the greatest tasks of continental development and civilization-building she had ever attempted. Moreover, the reputation and good faith of her statesmen and engineers were at stake, for Lord Cromer as well as Kitchener had approved. England could not retreat; she could only go forward, but wished to do so with full approval of the world.

Sir William Willcocks had written a book in opposition, and distributed it widely amongst professional and public men. Sir Murdoch MacDonald, the official who served as the point of attack, had set forth the English side of the controversy in "Nile Control," a book containing full details and specifications of the projects, with elaborate maps. But the public was lost in a maze of technical discussion, and nothing decisive was accomplished.

The Government then appointed a commission, consisting of three officials, to consider the matter. The report gave unqualified endorsement to the projects. The people only snorted their contempt: "One set of officials backing up another set," they said. A second commission, designed to have more weight, was composed of Sir Murdoch's three predecessors in office, plus two engineers, one of whom was the famous Professor Unwin, of London. This commission went into the matter exhaustively, and produced another unanimously favorable report. Like that of the former body, it had no more influence on Egyptian wrath and suspicion than a gentle breeze from the Mediterranean. "If you are going to have a commission, let it be composed of men who



SIR WILLIAM WILLCOCKS, THE FAMOUS BRITISH ENGINEER

(Who projected and designed the Aswan Dam across the Nile in 1898. His irrigation ideas have also been carried out in the Mesopotamia Valley)

have had nothing to do with Egypt in the past; and, if you want to make it a really judicial body, see that it has some American blood in it," the people said.

The Nile Projects Commission

A third commission was, therefore, created, composed of Mr. F. St. John Gebbie, C.I.E., Inspector-General of Irrigation, India, president; Prof. H. T. Cory, Consulting Engineer, America, and Dr. G. C. Simpson, Meteorological Reporter to the Government of India. While none of its members had ever been connected with the English administration in Egypt, two of them were English.

Mr. Gebbie, who acted as the president of the commission, is now in the United States, where he came to study the works of our Reclamation Service. He returns to India in December, to become the chief of the Irrigation Service in that country. His English associate, Dr. Simpson, was chosen by Cambridge University as the man best fitted to deal with the rainfall data of the Nile

watershed. He is the scientist who accompanied Scott on his journey to the South Pole, and had charge of all of his meteorological observations. Last September he became head of the Weather Service of Great Britain.

The Egyptian demand for an American member of the commission was based in part on the fact that this country has had extensive irrigation experience; but still more on America's reputation as "the land of the square deal." It is interesting to note, in this connection, that almost immediately after the announcement of President Wilson's policy of self-determination, Egyptian leaders waited on the English Governor at Cairo, and suggested that he should retire within the next two days. Very naturally, he replied that he had received no such instructions from his Government.

The American member of the commission was chosen after careful inquiry on the part of the British embassy at Washington. Mr. Cory had just finished his work as consulting engineer for Secretary Lane, in connection with soldier settlement in Southern States. His selection for the big job in Egypt was due not merely to the fact that he ranks high in his profession, but still more to his memorable work in curbing the riotous Colorado River when it overflowed its banks, filled up the ancient Salton Sea, and threatened the destruction of Imperial Valley in California. He was chosen by E. H. Harriman for that difficult and hazardous undertaking; and his success was so marked, and accomplished under such dramatic circumstances, as to give him a great name in the history of the Southwest. He has figured in fiction as well; he is the engineer hero of Harold Bell Wright's popular novel, "The Winning of Barbara Worth," as well as Mrs. Aiken's less known but equally notable story, "The River." The fact that the Colorado is called the Nile of America and really has much in common

with the African stream was possibly another factor that appealed to the English in their choice of an American engineer.

The Commission Tours the Nile

The commission held its first meeting at Cairo late in February, 1920, beginning with ceremonious visits to Lord Allenby, the new English ruler, and to the Sultan. They also met the leaders of the Egyptian national movement, some of whom privately assured Mr. Cory that he was the hope of Egypt. In fact, one of them pointed out a passage in the Bible predicting that after many tribulations a Savior would come from a far country, and suggested that he was the man.

The commission spent many weeks in a comprehensive tour of the Nile country, beginning with the rich Delta lands, and extending far above Khartum, to a point within 150 miles of Lake Albert. They journeyed by boat to the head of the Aswan Reservoir, not far from Wadi Halfa, then by train to Khartum; then again by boat up the Blue and White Niles. Thus they obtained first-hand facts covering every phase of their engineering problem.

Willcocks and Kennedy Condemned

Returning to Cairo in May, the commission sat for four weeks as a court to consider serious charges preferred by Sir William Willcocks and Colonel Kennedy against Sir Murdoch MacDonald, since these charges went straight to the heart of the projects under consideration. On June 26 the commission issued its preliminary report, and then adjourned to meet in London to prepare a final verdict.

The decision condemned Sir William Willcocks and Colonel Kennedy and led to their prompt arraignment in the British Consular Court at Cairo, upon the charge of criminal libel and the publication of seditious matter. They were bound over in the sum of \$10,000 for trial before a jury—a course deemed necessary by the authorities in order to vindicate their position and forever silence criticism of the Nile projects, so far as it is based upon the charge of misrepresenting the facts and suppressing essential information.

Commissioner Cory stated that no act in his life had been more distasteful than the condemnation of these eminent men, and especially of Sir William Willcocks, whose professional achievements and devotion to the welfare of the fellaheen commanded his



F. ST. JOHN GEBBIE
(Inspector-General of Immigration in India, who was made president of the Nile Projects Commission)

unbounded admiration. He said it was evident to his mind, however, that in Sir William's great anxiety to protect Egypt he had carried his criticism of Sir Murdoch MacDonald beyond legitimate limits, and that the ultimate welfare of Egypt itself would be served by the complete refutation of the charges.

The commission approved the soundness of the projects from an engineering point of view, though agreeing with Sir William and Colonel Kennedy that less water would be available for the Sudan than the Government had claimed. They declared that there was no place within Egyptian borders where the flood waters of the Nile could be effectively stored; and that if the opportunities in the Sudan were not to be utilized the development of the country must come to an end. This was true because the foundation of the Aswan Dam would not permit of its being raised and the reservoir enlarged in that manner; and, with the exception of Aswan, there was no opportunity to increase the storage without going beyond the Egyptian frontier.

The Division of the Water

It remained to divide the increased water supply between the two countries. This, after all, was the crux of the whole problem; and it was just here that Egypt looked to American experience and ideals for justice. Under American irrigation practice, the water-right is more valuable than the land, because the land is practically worthless without water; and here the water is usually attached to and made inalienable from the land. In Egypt, as Mr. Cory quickly ascertained, there is really no such thing as a water-right. The water belongs to the Government and is parceled out year by year among users as the Government decrees. A man may have water for all of his land one year, for half of it the next, and for none of it the third year; the only difference being that he is taxed according to the amount of water furnished. American irrigators would resent that sort of an arrangement, and, in fact, have often done so with their shotguns.

Mr. Cory did not think it feasible to insist at this time upon the acceptance of the whole American doctrine as applied to individuals, although he explained it to the people and held it up as an ideal toward which they should make steady progress; but he did lay down, as the first principle upon which the division of water between the two

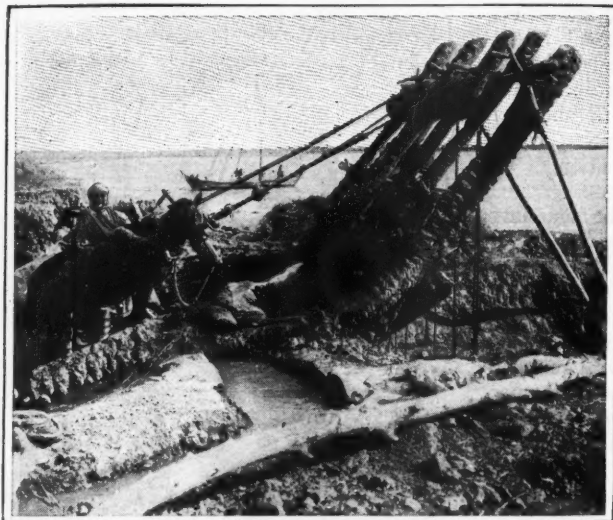


MR. H. T. CORY, THE AMERICAN MEMBER OF THE NILE PROJECT COMMISSION

(Mr. Cory was born in Indiana fifty years ago; was graduated from Purdue University, and became assistant engineer for his native city and county. He taught civil engineering at the University of Missouri and the University of Cincinnati for ten years, and then became interested in railroad and land problems in the Southwest and in California. Mr. Cory was in charge of diverting the Colorado River from running into the Salton Sea, in 1906-7, threatening the Imperial Valley)

countries should be adjusted, the great American doctrine: "*First in time, first in right.*" He declared that Egypt had obtained a sacred vested right in so much of the water as she had applied to her lands, and that she could not in justice be deprived of one drop of this water in the future. This theory should also apply to the Sudan; but, as we have seen, the Sudan is watering but 100,000 acres against 5,200,000 in Egypt. This disposition of the present supply was unanimously approved by the commission and hailed with deep satisfaction by the Egyptians.

When the American commissioner came to deal with the more delicate problem affecting the disposition of the enormous supply to be won in the future, by storing the waste waters on the Blue and the White Niles, tapping Lakes Albert and Victoria, and, most important of all, stopping the wastage in the Sudd, he did not find his views so acceptable in either country. His proposition was that the waters should be divided between the two countries on the basis of the irrigable area remaining to be reclaimed in each, the cost of the works to be divided



NATIVE EGYPTIAN IRRIGATION METHODS

(Buckets at the end of the ropes shown in the picture are raised when the donkey walks off, and water from the Nile is spilled out of the buckets and into the crude irrigation ditch that may be seen in the foreground)

in proportion to benefits received. This would give the major portion to the Sudan, because that country can utilize it to the best advantage, principally in the Gezira, where there are three million acres in a single tract calling for water and promising to produce a vast income from long-staple cotton.

The two English members of the commission agreed with Sir Murdoch MacDonald that the simple solution would be to give the Blue Nile to the Sudan and the White Nile to Egypt. This was unsatisfactory to the Egyptians, who felt that they, as the ancient appropriators of the Nile, should first take all the water they could use, and that only the surplus should be given to the Sudan. Mr. Cory regarded the English plan as mere opportunism in a situation that called for the adoption of a permanent solution based on fundamental principles of justice and right. He considered the Egyptian idea anti-social, and calculated to establish a bad precedent touching the division of international streams.

Argument Sustained by the Koran

In his effort to convert the Egyptians to his view, Mr. Cory finally turned to their revered Koran, and quoted the following parable, where the apostle said to Salih:

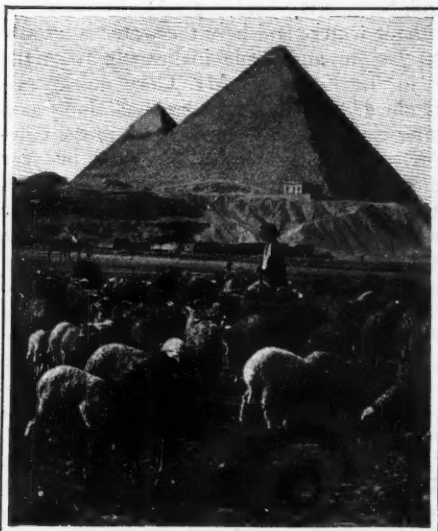
You are naught but a mortal like ourselves;

so bring a sign, if you are one of the truthful. He said this is a she camel; she shall have her portion of the water and you have your portion of water on an appointed time.

The significance of the parable lies in the fact that the female camel is the object of least popular respect. On the strength of the parable, Mr. Cory asked the Egyptians: "If even the 'she camel' is entitled to her share of the water, why not your brothers of the Sudan?" They admitted that it was good Mohammedan doctrine; and this and other quotations from the Sacred Word lifted Mr. Cory's proposition to the highest ethical plane in the minds of the native leaders. They were at least willing to give the plan friendly consideration, although it has not yet won their entire approval and consent. The entering wedge had been found by Mr. Cory.

The Future of Egypt

Since the commission left Cairo, the English have announced the terms of Egyptian independence. Lord Milner met the Nationalist leaders in a spirit so conciliatory as to command their confidence and promise of



A SHEPHERD AND HIS FLOCK AT THE PYRAMIDS,
NEAR THE WEST BANK OF THE NILE

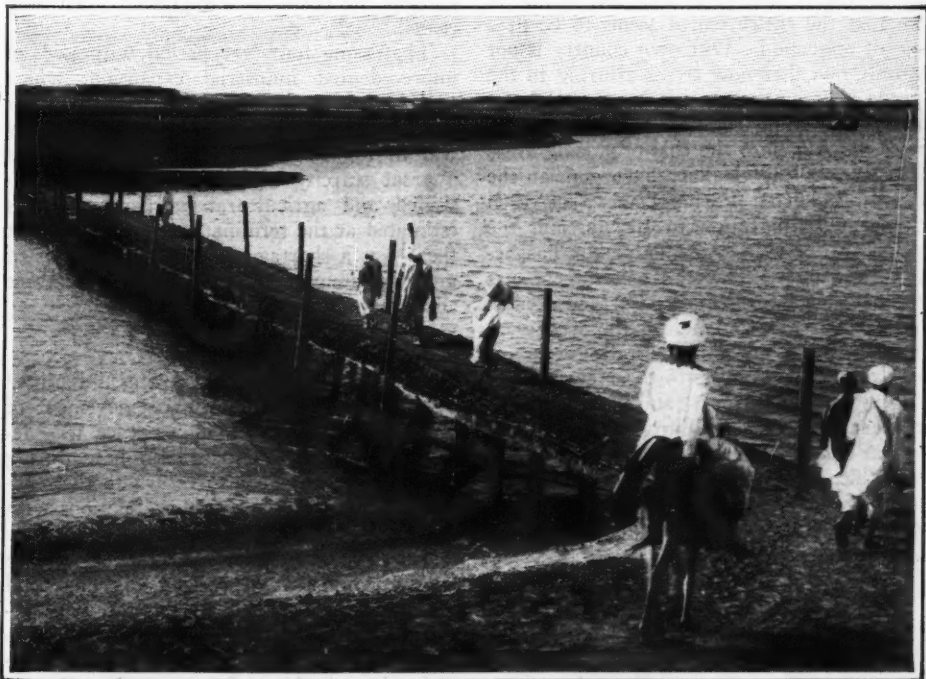
coöperation. England undertakes to guarantee Egypt against external aggression, and retains sufficient control of the revenues to protect foreign debt-holders; but she gives Egypt the largest measure of independence in domestic affairs. The most important of these concerns is the handling of the Nile. It is for the Egyptians themselves to say whether they shall accept the great vision of the English engineers, and enter upon the full development of the historic river. It is believed that they will decide to do so; and that the water will be finally divided in accordance with the principles urged by the American commissioner, Mr. Cory. It is possible, however, that Egypt will insist on a very definite treaty provision, to the effect that the works in the Sudan shall never be used for coercion, or for military purposes. In the meantime, the construction of the Sennar Dam is already under way.

The World Lesson

The wide lesson of the Egyptian situation, a lesson that emphatically applies to America,

is this: The world has come to the Age of the Engineer—when engineering is statesmanship and statesmanship is engineering. The demand is for *facts*, for *exact information*, and then for the application of the facts by genuinely scientific methods. The end sought is efficiency not merely, but something infinitely more important—the extension of man's promised dominion over the earth, with an unimagined increase in the security, the prosperity, and the happiness of mankind. Surely such an object is worth while.

Men can live—have lived for ages—by the crude, primitive, even wasteful use of Nature's resources; but infinitely more of them can live, and live infinitely better than men ever lived before, when they have learned to make the most of their opportunities and environment. This is the key to the future, which is to be better than the past. Only the high spirit of the trained engineer, dwelling in the upper air of disinterested human service, is equal to the obligations of leadership in a day when this fundamental truth is realized.



A NATIVE BRIDGE ACROSS THE WHITE NILE AT KHARTUM



EVERYONE A SPANIARD AND A FUTURE AMERICAN CITIZEN

(An illustration of how the animosities of war are soon forgotten by the poorer classes, from which immigrants have been mostly drawn, in recent years)

THE NEW IMMIGRATION

BY W. JETT LAUCK

THE immigration problem is again to the forefront. Recent developments clearly indicate that not only from a political and social point of view, but also from an industrial standpoint, it will soon assume its pre-war significance.

Aside from the factors which are affecting the United States, it is also interesting to note that the entire world seems to be in a state of migration. Our own country is not the only one that now seems alluring to the European immigrant. In Northern Italy, entire coal-mining communities have moved across the Alps into the coal-producing areas of France. Other Italians have gone to the Argentine. From Portugal there has been an enormous migration to Brazil; and the supply of Portuguese manual labor has become so depleted that the government has been petitioned to prevent a further exodus. Even the Swiss, who before the war were home-staying people, are migrating in comparatively large numbers to the New World.

Throughout Europe, and especially in Southern and Eastern Europe, the close of the war has been marked by extensive migration which will undoubtedly become more pronounced when existing restrictions are removed and transportation facilities improved and reduced in cost.

War Shortage of Half a Million Yearly

So far as the United States is concerned, 1913—the year preceding the outbreak of hostilities in Europe—may be said to have been our last year of normal immigration. In that year, the net gain in population, or the excess of immigrants over emigrants,

was approximately 582,000. From that year forward to the signing of the armistice, immigration radically declined. Up to the time of our entrance into the World War, the number of aliens who returned to their native countries practically equaled the number of immigrants received here. After we entered the conflict, immigration practically ceased.

That same four-year period witnessed an unprecedented industrial expansion, which was forced to depend on the labor supply that was available at the beginning of the war in 1914. As a consequence, there was a great scarcity of labor, especially of unskilled and agricultural workers. It was estimated at the termination of the war that there was a shortage in our requirements of unskilled immigrant labor of between three and four million men.

First Effects of Peace

This condition of affairs was intensified by an unprecedented outward movement of our foreign-born, as soon as peace was declared. Aliens who had been here during the war were anxious to return to their native countries, either to renew relations with their families and friends, from whom they had been separated for five years, or else to take advantage of depreciated exchange and reduced values abroad to invest savings accumulated here during the war. This tendency was especially noticeable among the Bulgarians, Serbians, Montenegrins, Greeks, and South Italians. During the first six months of 1919, four thousand more aliens left the country than entered. Within the



A CZECHOSLOVAK MOTHER AND DAUGHTER AT
ELLIS ISLAND

year following the armistice, it has been estimated, approximately five times as many unskilled male immigrant workers departed for their homes as came in during that period.

Influx of Women

Another peculiar development which also became apparent after the armistice was the unprecedented proportion of alien women and children among the new immigrants. This was due primarily to those alien males who entered the United States before the war, and who did not return home at its conclusion, but sent for their wives, children, and parents. Unmarried women from Northern and Western Europe, because of abnormal conditions at home—as in Ireland—also migrated to the United States in search of employment. A surprising and interesting fact also which soon developed in connection with this influx of immigrant women, was that very few would accept employment as domestic servants.

The Hordes Begin to Arrive

With the beginning of the present calendar year the situation began to change. Women aliens continued to arrive in unusual numbers, but the total number of immigrants arriving each month began to exceed the number of emigrants. During the twelve months ending June 30, 1920, approximately

140,000 more aliens arrived in the country than departed, and during the past few months, the influx of immigrants has been even greater.

The facilities at Ellis Island, New York, where 80 per cent. of the newcomers land, have been entirely inadequate to cope with the situation. The incoming tide has been so great that sleeping quarters are often entirely insufficient for those detained on the island. By way of illustration it was recently reported that it was necessary to pack 1300 women and children in a room designed to accommodate only 250 persons. At other times it has been reported that the force of inspectors were so powerless to keep up with the influx that it was necessary to delay the discharge of immigrants from incoming boats. The immigration authorities are doing their best to cope with the situation, but they are suffering from the failure of the Government to prepare for the present contingency. It was known that the immigrant tide would develop great proportions after the war, but, due to the pressure of other activities, no preparation was made.

Larger Numbers Yet to Come

The indications are that the present movement will grow larger instead of decreasing. In January of this year, the number of new arrivals for the country as a whole was, in round numbers, 31,000 as compared with



AN ARMENIAN PEASANT WOMAN AT THE
IMMIGRANT STATION



A GROUP OF ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS AWAITING EXAMINATION AT THE PORT OF NEW YORK IN OCTOBER
(During the last fiscal year 95,000 immigrants entering the United States came from Southern Italy alone)

86,000 in August, the latest month for which returns are available. Reports from steamship companies show that existing steerage accommodations are booked for a year to come. Advices from abroad all describe a constantly growing movement to emigrate to this country, despite the increasing costs of ocean transportation.

Real peace may bring with it employment at home for the people of Europe decimated by the ravages of war. But the evidence at present is all the other way, and it seems a safe prediction that the forces leading toward emigration are again in the ascendancy in Europe, and that, if no further checks are placed in the way, immigration into the United States will soon attain its pre-war level and perhaps rise to a much higher level.

The evidence is not so clear as to what will be the racial characteristics of the new immigration. Thus far, of course, the immigrants have come from the allied and neutral nations. This, however, may mean little as to the future, as pointed out by the Commissioner General of Immigration. Experience has shown that immigration to the United States may come as readily from nations defeated in war as from those successful in

war. Thus, prior to the unification of a victorious Italy, almost no Italian immigrants had come to the United States, but with unification accomplished, emigration began and soon grew to huge proportions. On the other hand, the beginning of emigration from Austria to the United States followed upon its severe defeat by Germany in 1866.

Nor does the fact that we ourselves have been at war with a particular country seem to have serious effect upon the movement of emigration from that country to ours. There was a heavy influx from the United Kingdom following upon the War of 1812, and Spanish immigration to the United States was doubly as large in the twenty years following the Spanish-American War as in the preceding seventy-five years. Evidently the animosities of war are soon forgotten by the great body of the poorer classes from which our immigration is drawn.

*Where They Now Come From,
and What They Do*

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, the largest number of immigrants from Europe came, in the order named, from Southern Italy (including Sicily and Sar-

dinia), England, Spain, Portugal (including Cape Verde and Azore Islands), Greece, Ireland, Scotland, France, Belgium, Sweden, Poland, and Norway. By far the greatest number of newcomers of any one race were the South Italians. They numbered 95,000 as compared with 27,000 English, the greatest number from any country of Western Europe. South Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, and Greeks constituted the great bulk of immigration from Europe.

Another distinctive feature of the past year has been the influx of a large number of Mexicans, together with immigrants from the West Indies, and British possessions in North America.

The races which showed distinct gains in population during this year, after departures had been deducted from new arrivals, were Dutch and Flemish, English, French, Hebrew, Irish, North and South Italian, Mexican, Portuguese, Scotch, Spanish, and Negro or African.

Of the grand total of 430,000 immigrants admitted in the year ending June 30 last, 12,000, in round numbers, reported themselves to be from professional occupations, 70,000 were skilled workers, and 174,000 were of unskilled and miscellaneous occupations. In the professional groups, teachers, clergy, professional electricians and engineers, and literary and scientific occupations predominated. Among the skilled industrial workers the leading classifications were

carpenters, clerks, accountants, iron and steel workers, machinists, mariners, miners, dress-makers, seamstresses, bakers, barbers, blacksmiths, painters, shoemakers, tailors, weavers, and spinners. In the miscellaneous group, farmers and farm laborers numbered only 27,000, servants 37,000, and unskilled laborers 82,000.

*Quality Always More Significant
Than Quantity*

This question, however, as to the character of further immigration is of the utmost seriousness. From the standpoint not only of labor, but of our whole social organization, the racial character of our immigration is of much greater importance than its magnitude. Immigration did not become a problem primarily through mere numbers. It became a problem only when it became converted into a feeder of raw, unskilled industrial workers for the mines and manufacturing establishments of the United States.

This had its beginning about thirty-five or forty years ago. Prior to that time the continuous stream of immigration into this country—sometimes as great in proportion to the existing population as it was in the years immediately preceding the war—was little more than a continuance of the colonizing process which began with the settlement of New England and Virginia. The newcomers were of the same general North



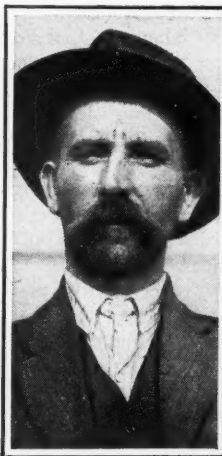
ALL IN THIS GROUP AT ELLIS ISLAND CAME FROM GREECE



Belgian



German



Hungarian



Syrian

TYPES OF IMMIGRANTS ARRIVING AT THE PORT OF NEW YORK IN OCTOBER

European stock, with similar institutions, similar customs, and similar standards of living to those of the early settlers. They easily became mechanics, farmers, business men, as opportunity offered, and after a generation at least they melted easily into the older community or made new and worthy communities of their own, as the Scandinavians did in the Northwest.

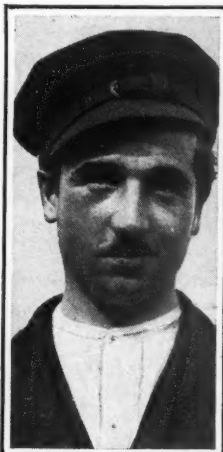
Then in the '80's and '90's came a practical cessation of this North European immigration, caused—in large part at least—by the diminution of the opportunities for which these peoples were seeking. The great stretches of western land, until then the outlet for the hardy and adventurous, had made the lure of America less attractive to the older type of immigrant from Europe.

The Old "Unskilled" Invasion

Almost simultaneously there began the enormous expansion of American machine industry, highly specialized, immensely efficient, with an almost insatiable demand for common labor. No training was necessary, no education, not even a knowledge of the language. All that

was asked for was muscle and endurance, at a low price. By this time, also, transportation had become relatively quick and inexpensive, and the trip to America had lost its danger and its sense of adventure. It was possible for an Italian, for instance, to come to America for outdoor summer work and return to his home in the winter, with little more difficulty, and much more profit, than would be incident to a similar trip to Germany or France. Moreover, the business of transporting immigrants was a profitable one and warranted extensive advertising and soliciting by steamship companies.

The result of these circumstances was to attract to the industrial centers of America vast numbers of southern and eastern Europeans — chiefly from Italy and Austria. Man for man they were not necessarily of lower caliber than their predecessors from the north of Europe. It is difficult indeed to measure the relative worth of peoples. The essential point is that, whatever his moral worth, the new immigrant type from southern and eastern Europe brought with him a



FROM NORTHERN ITALY



FROM SOUTHERN ITALY

much lower standard of living than his predecessors had brought. Moreover, this new immigrant was not a colonizer; he was merely an applicant for a job.

A Problem for Organized Labor

As a result he was able and anxious to accept work at a low wage and under adverse conditions. This fact made him highly acceptable to the employer seeking for cheap labor, but, in the eyes of the older and more intelligent workers, made of him an unfair competitor. From this latter standpoint he also had other faults, the chief of which was that he was not easily organized. His entrance into the mines and manufacturing establishments had the effect of weakening the labor organizations of the original employees, and in some of the industries caused their entire demoralization and disruption. On account of lack of industrial training and experience, his low standards of living as compared with native American wage-earners, his necessitous condition while seeking employment in this country, and his general tractability, he was always willing to accept the existing rates of compensation and working conditions.

The thrift and industry of the recent immigrant also caused him to be unwilling to enter into labor disputes involving loss of time, or to join labor organizations to which it was necessary to pay regular dues. As a consequence, he did not affiliate readily with labor organizations unless compelled to do so as a preliminary step toward acquiring work; and then, after becoming a member of the labor union, he often manifested little interest in the tenets or policy of the organization. In the instances where he united with the labor organization, on the occasion of strikes or labor dissensions, he usually refused to maintain membership for any extended period of time, thus rendering difficult under normal conditions the unionization of the industry or occupation in which he was engaged.

Moreover, the fact that recent immigrants were usually of non-English-speaking races, with a high degree of illiteracy, made their absorption by the labor organizations very slow and expensive. In many cases, too, the conscious policy of certain employers of mixing the races in different departments and divisions of labor—in order, by a diversity of tongues, to prevent concerted action on the part of employees—made unionization of the immigrant almost impossible.

The breaking point had, indeed, arrived some years before the war. The United States Immigration Commission, reporting in 1910, reached the definite conclusion that the point of complete saturation had been reached in the employment of immigrants in mining and manufacturing establishments. The commission found that, owing to the rapid expansion in industry which had taken place during the preceding thirty years, and the constantly increasing employment of southern and eastern Europeans, it was impossible to assimilate the newcomers, politically or socially, or to educate them to American standards of compensation, efficiency, or conditions of employment.

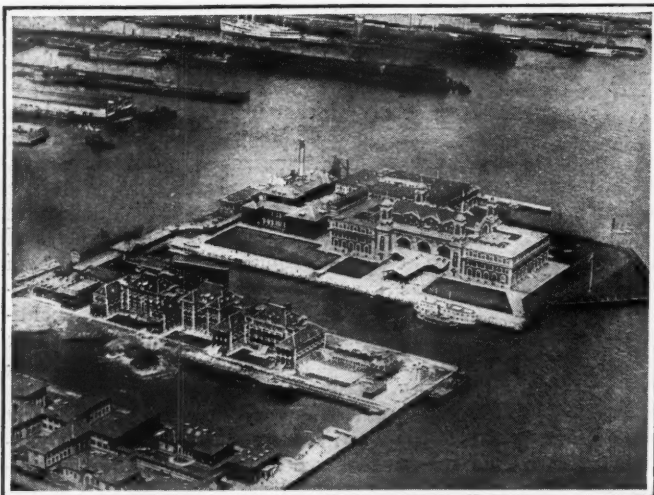
Of utmost importance, also, was the effect of the war morale upon the more recent immigrants—except, perhaps, those in the position of enemy aliens. The passage of five years without recruits would in itself have quickly diminished their ranks.

Americanizing the Immigrant

In the war period, opportunity for Americanization was greatly stimulated. To many it came through service in the military forces. To others the stimulus of war activities, regular employment, higher wages, and improved working conditions broke down the old barriers and brought them up to, or at least nearer, the American level of living. The influence of this period upon the newer immigrants cannot well be over-emphasized.

The change that was effected is indicated by the greater apparent ease with which the recent immigrant workers are now organizable by the labor unions. The steel industry, for instance, has for years been manned, except in the skilled occupations, almost entirely by the newer immigrants and for an equal number of years it has been regarded as perhaps the one industry where a general organization of labor was to be least expected. Nevertheless, the steel strike of last autumn, although a complete failure in its immediate aims, showed that the spirit of organization had crept deeply into the minds of the unskilled steel workers.

The growth of this spirit of organization is beneficial to our whole social organization. For whether one approves or disapproves of labor unions as at present organized, it is of vital importance to a democracy that the possibility of association on a plane of mutual respect and helpfulness should be present among the workers. To continue the di-



THE IMMIGRANT RECEIVING STATION ON ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK HARBOR
(Where 80 per cent. of the newcomers land—now at the rate of 2500 each day)

viding line of racial segregation, and dislike, is to strike at the roots of our whole system of government. As a breaker-down of these barriers among the heterogeneous elements of our population, the work of the labor union has been equaled only by the work of our public schools. The labor union has been a true melting-pot for millions of immigrants.

Restricting Undesirable Immigrants

The literacy test, enacted in 1917, has been in existence too short a period to measure its full effectiveness. Evidence to date, however, offers little hope that it will prove a sufficient barrier to that type of immigration which is undesirable on economic grounds. In the fiscal year 1919, only 1455 out of a total immigration of 141,132, were excluded at ports of entry on account of inability to meet the literacy tests.

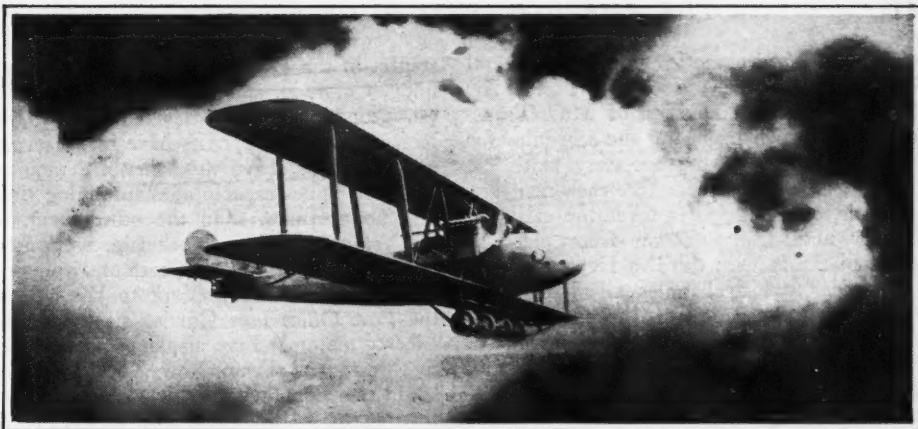
In conclusion, therefore, it may be said that unless there is further restriction of immigration, the situation for the American industrial worker is not very promising. A policy of permanent or absolute exclusion is not imperative. All that is essential is to limit temporarily the number of incoming aliens so that the foreign workmen already in the country may be industrially assimilated and educated to the point where they will demand proper standards of living and will be constrained by the economic aspirations of the native American. If the influx of immigrant wage-earners is resumed

on the pre-war basis, there is no ground for expecting any noteworthy improvements in the near future in the working and living conditions of the employees of our mines and factories.

A proper and intelligent restriction may be secured by the legislation recently prepared and favorably acted upon by the Congress. It consists in limiting the number of new arrivals to a fixed percentage of the representatives of the different immigrant races already resident in this country as shown by the returns of the federal Census Bureau. In its

practical application, this legislation would obviously for a time admit proportionately larger numbers of Northern and Western Europeans. This would be desirable from an industrial point of view, and from a political and social standpoint as well; because Southern and Eastern Europe not only have comparatively low economic standards, but also since the war have been more generally influenced by revolutionary and communistic socialism and other extreme doctrines than the races of Western Europe.

It is true that a restriction of immigration would be in reality an arbitrary curtailment of the increase in the existing labor supply, and might be attended by a temporary check in the rapidity of the remarkable industrial expansion which has been characteristic of recent years. However, it is equally true that the measure of the economic welfare of the citizens of an industrial and commercial nation does not consist in the number of tons of coal produced or the tons of pig-iron, steel rails, or yards of print cloth manufactured. The real indication of material prosperity is to be found in the extent to which the wage-earners in mines and factories share in the industrial output which is partly attributable to their labors; and unless there is a limitation placed upon the supply of cheap foreign labor of low standards and aspirations, it is perfectly clear that the American wage-earner cannot hope to participate properly in the results of our industrial progress.



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THE AIRPLANE MAIL FLYING THROUGH THE CLOUDS EN ROUTE FROM CLEVELAND TO NEW YORK

(This remarkable photograph was made from an accompanying airplane, thousands of feet above the earth's surface, and shows the mail plane flying at the rate of a mile and a half a minute)

THE AIR MAIL SERVICE

BY BRIG.-GEN. WILLIAM MITCHELL

[The present article is the third in a series contributed to this REVIEW by General Mitchell, relating to the use of aircraft by the United States Government. The first of the series, printed in the September number, described the Army's air service. The second article, in the October issue, dealt with the use of aircraft in naval warfare.—THE EDITOR]

THE United States Air Mail Service is the most extensive, regularly operated civil airplane service in the world. Starting out on May 15, 1918, as an experiment, between Washington and New York City, it was extended during the year 1919 from New York to Cleveland, and then from Cleveland to Chicago. On September 13, 1920, service was started all the way across the continent, from New York to San Francisco.

The schedule adopted between New York and San Francisco provides that the mail shall leave New York at 6:30 in the morning, Eastern time, and arrive at Chicago at 3:27 that afternoon; leave Chicago at 6 A. M. the following morning, and arrive at Cheyenne, Wyo., at 4:25 P. M.; leave Cheyenne the third morning at 5:30, and if the weather permits, arrive at San Francisco on the third day at 3:23 P. M., Western time, without flying at night.

The predominant characteristic of airplane traffic is speed, and this is being developed to a greater extent every day. This not only takes place in the actual increase in speed in the airplane itself, but also in extending the number of hours of flight per day in which it is possible to use an airplane.

For instance, in the schedule given above, the Air Mail Service takes three days to deliver letters to San Francisco from New York, as the airplanes fly only in the day time. This, however, will be changed soon, so that the airplanes will fly both day and night; and in this way mail will be carried from New York to San Francisco within thirty-six hours.

Eastbound and westbound there should be mail exchanges of one or two pouches at Reno, Salt Lake and Cheyenne. There should be 400 pounds of mail from Chicago westbound for Omaha, and 400 pounds of Omaha mail eastbound for Chicago. There should be one or two pouches of Omaha mail for the West, and also one or two pouches of mail for Omaha coming from the West. At Chicago, in addition to the 400 pounds of mail for Cleveland, another 400 pounds of mail is sent out for San Francisco, to be delivered that night at Cheyenne. Eastbound, Chicago should send New York and vicinity about 400 pounds of mail from San Francisco.

The Mail Service has at its head Second Assistant Postmaster General Otto Praeger; and consists of three divisions: First, Engineering, which has to do with the de-

velopment of airplanes, motors, and general equipment for the use of the Postal Air Service; second, a Division of Mail Transportation, which makes up the schedules for the mail, compiles the necessary statistical records, keeps check of where each mail airplane is, and anticipates what the call will be for mail transportation from place to place in the future; third, a Department of Operations, which handles all flying matters, the maintenance of the fields, radio and telegraph installations, and inspections. This department employs pilots, tests them, and trains them for the work that is required.

The Air Mail has the following divisions: The first, from Washington to New York, and New York to Cleveland; the second division, from Cleveland to Chicago; the third division, from Chicago to Omaha; the fourth division runs north and south, that is, from St. Louis through Chicago to the twin cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul; the fifth division covers the line from Omaha to Salt Lake City; while the sixth division runs from Salt Lake City to San Francisco. These divisions are to be simplified and consolidated in the future, as the service develops.

Types of Planes Employed

Each division of the Air Mail Service is using different kinds of airplanes, so as to test out their capabilities, not only in general, but in the particular part of the country in which they are to operate. For in-

stance, in the West—that is, through Wyoming, Colorado, and Nevada—the height of the ground above sea level is over 5,000 feet, and as the airplanes have to fly several thousand feet above this, they are required to have engines capable of maintaining them at high altitudes. On the other hand, on the Washington-New York run, work is at low altitude, and another sort of airplane is required. From New York to Washington the Post Office uses Curtiss airplanes with Liberty motors. Five airplanes are assigned to this route. From New York to Cleveland, two DeHaviland airplanes are used, three Curtiss R-4s, and one L. W. F. airplane—a total of six. From Cleveland to Chicago six airplanes are used—two 2-engine Martins, and four made-over twin DeHaviland airplanes. The latter are equipped with Hall Scott six-cylinder motors. From Chicago to St. Louis the six original air mail airplanes which were turned over to the Post Office Department by the Army in 1918 are still being used. These are Curtiss training airplanes with Hispano Suiza 150 h.p. engines. All of these ships are still giving good service. From Chicago to Minneapolis and St. Paul five made-over DeHavilands with twin Hall Scott six-cylinder engines are used.

From Chicago to Cheyenne eight all-metal airplanes of German construction are being tried. These are temporarily out of commission, due to trouble which developed in the gas system, and their place is being taken by a number of DH-4 airplanes. The



A DE HAVILAND MAIL-CARRYING PLANE

(A large number of the DH-4s of war fame have been made over into mail carriers, used chiefly in the West. The mail compartment is ahead of the gas tank, to save the contents in case of fire. There are twin six-cylinder engines. This type of plane is at present used to cross the Rockies, and on many easier routes besides.)

metal airplanes are expected to give considerable economy, in up-keep, amount of gasoline and oil used, and from the fact that they can stay out in the weather and do not need as much shelter as the airplanes built of wood, wire and cloth. Recent burnings of these airplanes were caused by accumulations of gasoline in and under the motors, jarring loose of the gasoline leads, which make leaks, and ignition of this fuel mixture by back-fire in the engines, or leaks through the exhaust manifolds. Of course, gasoline always burns if ignited, no matter what its container may be. It is a mistake to think that there can not be a fire in an airplane, because it is built of metal. What has to be done in all airplanes is to guard against fire by having an efficient gasoline system and good mechanics to keep it in condition.

Mileage, Load, and Speed

From Cheyenne to Salt Lake City four DeHaviland airplanes are used; six between Salt Lake City and Reno; and four from Reno to San Francisco. This makes a total of fifty airplanes constantly employed on these long routes. The Post Office Department maintains a sufficient reserve of ships to keep these airplanes going, at Bustleton, Chicago, and Salt Lake City. The total number of ships used to operate the mail line is about eighty—that is, about thirty are constantly undergoing repair and overhaul. A daily service is maintained on all these routes, except on Sunday.

The total mileage on the transcontinental route—that is, between New York and San Francisco, is 2616 miles. The route from New York to Washington is 200 miles; and the route from St. Louis to the twin cities is 610 miles. This makes a straight-line distance of 3426 miles, or, operated both ways, it makes a total distance of 6852 miles, all of which is flown over every day.

The average load carried in the plane is 400 pounds of mail matter, averaging forty-two letters to the pound, or nearly 17,000 letters for each airplane load. As many



MR. OTTO PRAEGER, IN CHARGE OF THE UNITED STATES AIR MAIL SERVICE

(Mr. Praeger, who stands at the right of the group, is the Second Assistant Postmaster General. Under him the postal air service has been developed until it is the most extensive civil airplane service in the world. At the left of the picture is Pilot Shanks, and in the center is the Postmaster General of Sweden, a passenger on a flight from Washington to New York.)

changes of mail are made along the route, the average number of letters carried daily is about 100,000.

The speed varies from 65 miles an hour with the slowest airplanes—such as the Curtiss training ships with 150 h.p. motors—to 80 miles an hour with the DeHavilands with 40 h.p. motors. At this speed, more than 85 per cent of the trips are made on scheduled time. The Washington office of the Air Mail Service keeps in constant touch with the ships en route by telegrams announcing the arrival and departure of the mail, by each machine, at every flying field touched at. The operation is visualized on a dispatch board in the office of the Assistant Postmaster General, which shows each plane in the position in which it was last reported.

Fifty-four pilots are employed in the Air Mail Service, distributed on an average of one pilot to each one hundred miles of route. A pilot is expected to fly about 1200 miles per week.

Cost, as Compared with Railroad Service

The Post Office requires no special marking or stamps on the envelope to send letters by airplane, as the mail is simply first-class matter taken from trains and placed in airplanes for expeditious handling.

The figures of the Post Office Department show that an Air Mail Service can actually



UNCLE SAM'S LARGEST MAIL-CARRYING AIRPLANE

(This Martin twin-engine machine flies between Cleveland and Chicago. It has a speed of about 85 miles an hour, can remain aloft seven hours, and carries 1,500 pounds of mail. During the war this type of plane was known as the Martin "bomber")

be maintained more cheaply than is the cost for the same amount of mail transported by railway. This at first appears strange, until it is considered that the mail cars are really traveling post offices, that their size is always the same, that is, a sixty-foot car, that they are filled with racks and cases which may or may not be full, and are paid for on the size of car regardless of contents. The Post Office Department figures show that it costs \$400,000 annually to operate a 1500-pound mail-carrying airplane on one round trip daily between New York and Chicago; and that the use of this airplane between these two terminals does away with the railroad facilities which cost \$500,000. In other words, they claim that a \$100,000 saving would be made in this item of cost.

The great utility of the Air Mail Service is not only in the carrying of mail itself, but in showing what can be done in the establishment and maintenance of air routes throughout the country. What deters civil aviation from being an accomplished fact has been the absence of airways and landing fields throughout the country. No one firm could install any such systems, on account of the expense; but really the expense of such installation is much less for aircraft than is the case for many other means of transportation. For instance, it is estimated that the cost of installation of a railroad system in this country today would be approximately \$100,000 per mile; and that the cost of an air route with its terminals and equipment would be not over \$5000 per mile. The cost of maintenance is very much

less for an air route than it is for a railroad route; while the speed of installation is entirely on the side of the airplane. It takes months and even years to build railroads for any distance. During the transcontinental air test of the United States Army, which involved flying great numbers of airplanes all the way across the United States, the whole installation of landing fields, supplies, and communication was made within a month after the order was given.

The value of the Air Mail installation must not be judged entirely from the question of dollars and cents of cost in operation, or even of the casualties or crashes that may be the result of its operation. Its field is so broad and of such vital importance to the United States, not only from a standpoint of commercial development, but from the standpoint of establishing permanent airways, that it should be developed to the furthest extent possible.

Holding these benefits in mind, a few figures will be given as to the actual relative cost between the airplane as a means of transportation, and transportation by rail. So far, the airplanes produced in large numbers during the war, in Great Britain, cost about \$4 per pound of the gross weight of the whole airplane and its load. The cost of American airplanes on the same basis is from \$1 to \$4 per pound of gross weight for the airplane and its accessories. The cost of a railroad freight train is less than five cents per pound. The ratio of first cost, then, of an airplane to a freight train is from 20 to 1, to 80 to 1, against the airplane. The ratio

of useful load is less than 1 to 2 for an airplane; with the freight train more than one-half is useful load. The effort necessary to pull an airplane through the air is more than ten times as great per pound as is the case for a freight train. An airplane glides on a 20 per cent grade; the freight train on a 2 per cent grade. The crew of a freight train carrying hundreds of tons of freight is five or six men. The crew of a large airplane is about the same size. The cost of transporting one pound one mile in an airplane is from one-tenth of a cent to one cent. The cost of transporting a ton one mile on a freight train is between one-tenth of a cent and one cent.

The report on the Air Mail Service for the Washington-Philadelphia-New York route, covering the period from May 15, 1918, to May 15, 1919, shows that the overhead cost of installation was twenty-eight cents per airplane-mile; that the operating cost was twenty cents per airplane-mile; and the maintenance cost forty-one cents per airplane-mile—or a total of eighty-nine cents per airplane-mile. During this same period, the average useful load of mail carried was 160 pounds; and the total cost was therefore six-tenths of a cent per pound-mile.

Regularity of Service

During this same period, 93 per cent. of the possible trips—one each way per day—were completed with only a 7 per cent. of failures. Of this 7 per cent. more than half of the failures were caused by not being able to start on account of bad weather conditions; and the other half were due to forced landings after the start had been made. This

included successful flights in gales of more than 50 miles per hour; one in a gale of 68 miles per hour.

The regularity of this system is best indicated by the accompanying table, which shows the average percentage of performance throughout. During the year 1920-1921 the performance will be very much better, because during the year in which this service was inaugurated great difficulty was experienced by the Air Mail in overcoming the cold weather, the snow, and the difficulty of operating airplanes during the winter time in the northern part of the United States. It will be noticed, in consulting the table, that the performance dropped very greatly in December, went lower in January and February, and did not begin to climb again until April. The unprecedented snowfall of the winter of 1919-1920 all but stopped operations of the Air Mail Service. The Air Mail tried to operate in the snow with the ordinary wheels on the airplanes, but when they found it impossible, they put on skids in place of the wheels and resumed operation. The great cold encountered between New York and Chicago froze radiators and water pumps in the air, congealed oil overflows so that pipes burst, and brought planes down with crippled motors. Engines froze up while being started, and many other things happened which always are encountered when starting an Airplane Service with inexperienced personnel, under winter conditions.

After the difficulties of the winter had been overcome, the muddy fields of spring again held up the Air Mail operations very greatly, but cinder runways were immediately built so that landings could be made without acci-

CONSOLIDATED STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS OF AIR MAIL SERVICE, JULY 1, 1919, TO JULY 1, 1920

Month	Trips possible	Trips attempted	Trips completed	Trips defaulted	Weather encountered Fog, etc. Clear	Mileage possible	Miles traveled	Percent of performance	Mails carried (pounds)	Cost of Service	Forced Landings due to weather
1919											
July†	178	173	6	5	59	58,909	56,577	96.04	48,704	\$41,134.36	7
August	176	174	6	2	59	58,946	58,022	98.43	56,870	40,614.59	3
September	172	171½	2	½	40½	57,103	56,308	98.60	55,668	34,861.53	5
October	178	165	29	13	64	58,582	50,437	86.27	55,095	35,609.03	11
November	177	172	18	5	72	48,214	41,757	86.61	54,084	31,127.58	6
December	158	125½	19	30½	58½	48,620	35,788	73.61	41,246	33,909.86	16
1920											
January	156	123½	22	32½	39½	48,620	33,952	69.83	43,125	52,551.66	16
February	146	127	15	19	55	45,970	32,647	71.02	37,242	46,004.12	5
March††	210	169	17	41	38	49,010	37,861	77.25	42,361	44,785.71	12
April	208	180	9	28	85	48,620	41,890	86.16	42,066	55,343.40	28
May	232	211	7	21	78	59,670	54,138	90.72	51,112	57,004.83	17
June	260	204	17	56	74	71,500	49,867	69.74	59,005	80,209.43	29
Totals	2,249	1,995½	167	253½	722½	653,764	549,244	84.01	586,578	\$553,156.10	155

*New York-Cleveland service inaugurated July 1, 1919.

†Flight Washington-New York prior to July reported as two trips account exchange of mails at Philadelphia, and subsequent to that date non-stop flight reported as one trip.

††Flight New York-Cleveland considered two trips (i. e., New York to Bellefonte and Bellefonte to Cleveland) from March 1, 1920.



THE FIRST MAIL PLANE

(A Curtiss airplane with a 150 h.p. motor. It made the first mail-carrying flight from Washington to New York, on May 15, 1918. The plane is still in daily service between Chicago and St. Louis)

dent. After all these obstacles had been overcome, the inexperience of pilots and mechanics accounted for a good deal of trouble; but now this has been overcome.

It is expected that the performance during the coming winter and spring will be much superior to that shown in the table.

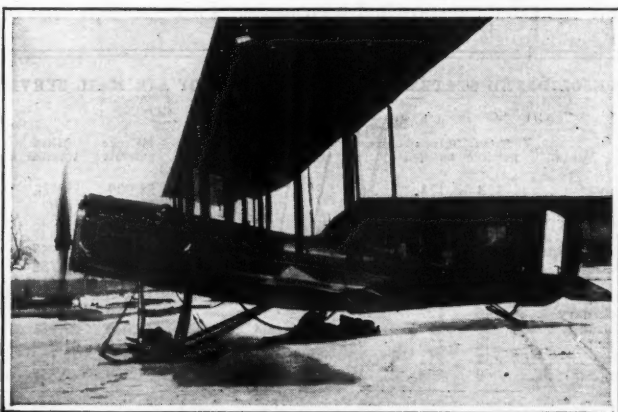
It is evident, therefore, with this beginning, that commercial service by airplane has been given a great impetus, and a demonstration of what can be expected in the future.

Figuring the same way, if we take into consideration passenger traffic at the present time, airplanes would have to charge about seventy-five cents to carry a passenger one mile; which is about thirty times the cost of carrying a passenger on a railway. You may expect for a long time that passenger traffic will be limited to those desiring to pay high prices for very quick passage from one point to another. When one considers, however, that the trip will soon be made from San Francisco to New York in thirty-six hours, as against four or five days in a railway train, this difference in cost will be readily forthcoming.

All of these figures, however, change very greatly when applied to the use of airships; that is, dirigible balloons. It has been esti-

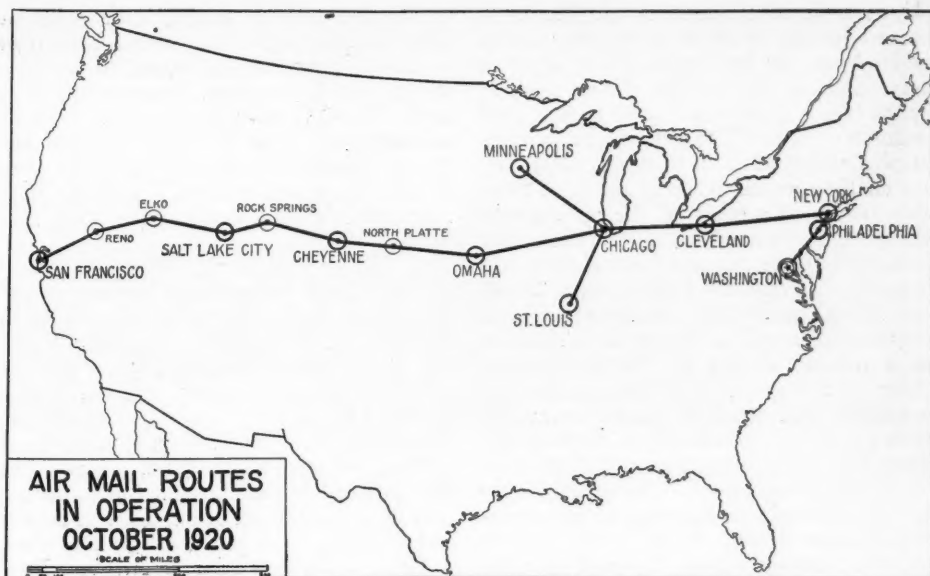
mated that a complete airship service can be started between New York and Chicago for \$20,000,000, which will transport as many passengers per day between these two great centres as do the fastest passenger trains. Compared to this, the railroad terminal facilities in New York cost \$200,000,000; the railroad terminal facilities in Chicago, \$60,000,000; and to establish railroad tracks and ways between these cities would cost, at the present time, an average of \$100,000 per mile. It is therefore estimated that, on a basis of \$40 per passenger per trip, which is the railroad charge at the

present time between New York and Chicago, the airships could operate at considerable profit. Two hundred thousand passengers have been carried in Germany, by airships, without a single accident. The average speed of these commercial airships is from 50 to 70 miles an hour. No regular airship service has ever been attempted in the United States; but that one soon will be, there can be little doubt. The radio direction-finding instruments, localizers to find landing fields, and the weather system now being developed by the Post Office Department, will have a great bearing on any airship service adopted in this country for the transportation of passengers.



EQUIPPED WITH SKIDS FOR USE DURING THE WINTER

(Wheels cannot be used in deep snow or on ice; and as air mail service must be continuous in winter as well as in summer, these skids are attached for landing. Much of the irregularity of service during last winter, and the consequent danger to pilots, was due to snow and ice on landing fields)



(Air mail service was started on May 15, 1918, between Washington and New York—a distance of 200 miles. During 1919 it was extended to Chicago and Omaha, and September 13, 1920, service was established across the entire continent, 2616 miles. During the present year, also, an air-mail route was opened between St. Louis and St. Paul, 610 miles apart)

The Value of Wireless Equipment

The equipment so far used by the air mail is merely an adaptation of war-time equipment, used either for training or for actual operations against an enemy. These airplanes were not made to go great distances; or to carry large weights. Of course the first problem in the navigation of airplanes is to find one's way; and in the solution of this problem, the radio telegraph is of the utmost importance. The Post Office Department has installed a radio system all along their lines, which is doing a great deal to develop air navigation. In navigating an airplane, it is necessary first to maintain direction, so as to go directly to the point of destination, and in the event of fog, clouds, or bad visibility of any kind, to find just where the landing place is, and then the particular point on the landing field at which it is desired to land. The Post Office landing fields are now equipped with experimental radio apparatus, to solve the many problems of air navigation required. Not only is the direction-finding being developed very greatly, but also inter-communication both between airplanes and between airplanes and the ground while the planes are in flight.

One Air Mail plane was caught in a severe storm while flying between Cleveland and Chicago, and was overtaken by darkness

before it could reach the Air Mail field at Chicago. The airplane sent out, through its wireless, a request that any ground radio station receiving the message should telephone the Air Mail field at Chicago to have landing lights ready when it came in that night. Seven telephone calls were received at the field almost immediately. The field was lighted, and the airplane made a successful landing with its crew of three and the large amount of mail that it was carrying. It has been found by actual practice that the telegraph systems across the country are not suitable for the handling and dispatching of airplanes, and that reliance must be placed on a radio telegraphic net between all fields. The postoffice is putting this into effect.

Weather Conditions

Another very important element in air navigation which must be developed more systematically is a study of the weather. If a wind is blowing in a certain direction, say at 50 miles an hour in the opposite direction in which an airplane desires to fly, and the airplane has a speed of 65 miles per hour, it can only go ahead 15 miles per hour. On the other hand, if it has a following wind of 50 miles an hour, it will be able to go 115 miles an hour. A storm may cross the

path of an airplane after it has left the ground or an airdrome at which an airplane desires to land may be in the middle of a storm area. All of these things can be foretold by an efficient meteorological service, and communicated to the airplanes by radio telegraphy, either while in flight or while they are on the ground. One of the most valuable results of a study of the air currents along the mail route lines will be the ability to determine direction and force of the winds in the upper atmosphere; that is, up to 20,000 and 30,000 feet. Constant trade winds, as they might be called, blow at high altitudes in a manner similar to the trade winds closer to the earth. For instance, we are practically sure that there is a constant wind, with a velocity of from 100 to 200 miles per hour, blowing from west to east at altitudes of 25,000 feet and over. Conversely, we believe that there is one from east to west across the Southern States. If an airplane travels in these constant winds, its speed over the ground can be increased by from 100 to 200 miles per hour.

As the Air Mail has to operate constantly, both summer and winter, valuable data are collected on the method of operating internal

combustion engines during cold weather. The gasoline engine has always been used in rather warm temperatures, or so protected that it was kept from getting very cold. One of the most important uses of airplanes will come in the colder parts of North America, Alaska, and the Arctic. We already have obtained very valuable data from the Air Mail Service along that line.

Contributing to National Defense

The United States Army has assisted the Post Office Department in every way possible to carry out its excellent work, fully realizing that in the development of an efficient Air Mail Service, not only will the greater incentive be given to civil aviation, but that all of this has a direct bearing on national defense, because all the crews, equipment, and particularly the airdromes, and airways, may be utilized by all of our aviation in war and in going from one coast to the other.

Great credit is due Second Assistant Postmaster General Praeger for establishing and maintaining a system which, if properly developed, will give us more data as to continued use and operation of airplanes than any other existing system of its kind in the world.



ONE OF TWO AEROBOATS WHICH WILL CARRY MAIL BETWEEN CUBA AND FLORIDA

(A private concern has contracted with the United States Government to maintain a daily mail service each way between Havana and Key West. The flying boats will carry approximately 500 pounds of mail. They can, besides, accommodate eleven passengers and a crew of four. The planes were purchased from the United States Navy. From tip to tip the wing span is 104 feet. Two Liberty engines furnish the power.)



AN ATTRACTIVE VIEW IN UNION PARK GARDENS, NEAR WILMINGTON, DEL., SHOWING THE ADVANTAGE OF SAVING EXISTING TREES

(The town was planned and built during the war emergency, to house shipyard and factory workers)

TOWN-PLANNING ACTUALITIES

Some Recently Executed Improvement Schemes in American Small Towns

BY GUY WILFRID HAYLER

ONE of the greatest arguments "the man in the street" has against spending money for town improvement is the statement that plans are done on paper, but never carried out. He argues that it is all pretty theory, and such expenditures are unwarranted. He is surfeited with plans and wants to see something achieved. Recently a civic enthusiast was thus addressed, and he did his best to show that town planning was really justifiable, but he afterwards confessed he would have given \$100 to have had some actual facts to fling at his opponent in rebuttal. He had not got them, and the general public has not as a rule got them. Paper plans achieve a wide publicity, but their actual execution is frequently forgotten.

Public memory is notoriously short, and town planning, to be the live issue it deserves to be, must look back as well as forward in presenting its case to the people. The worthy things achieved in the way of improvements need to be constantly dragged into the daylight as examples, for only by this means will the public see that it is getting value for its money. Once his interest is aroused, man in the mass is imitative, though he hesitates to take a new road. He is enthusi-

astic when he knows he can "deliver the goods." Showing one town's progress frequently spurs another town forward in friendly rivalry. Conservatism in civic life is largely due to lack of knowledge, and can best be rectified by the apt illustration at the right time.

In the case of the hundreds of America's small towns where the need of town improvement is crying aloud for attention, it is of very little use to present Chicago's record of planning achievements, of Kansas City's park system, of San Francisco's Civic Center, and so on. The parallelism for them must be direct. Their town is small, with little money, and their needs are spectacularly fewer. What can be shown as America's contribution to town-planning actualities in her small towns? The answer can be seen in some representative instances selected from the work of Dr. John Nolen, Town and City Planner, of Cambridge, Mass.

Kingsport, Tenn.

The making of Kingsport, Tenn. has been remarkable. Ten years ago there were only two farm houses on the site; five years later

there were some 900 people there; but today the place is an enterprising town of 10,000 or so. Why and how has this been accomplished? It is a town constructed to make business for the Carolina, Clinchfield & Ohio Railroad, which was expensive to build, and needed freight to pay for it. The country around is wealthy in minerals and this site should eventually become a city of much consequence. Its progress is that way now. The Kingsport Improvement Corporation, owning most of the real estate, has seen that the place has been designed aright from the start.

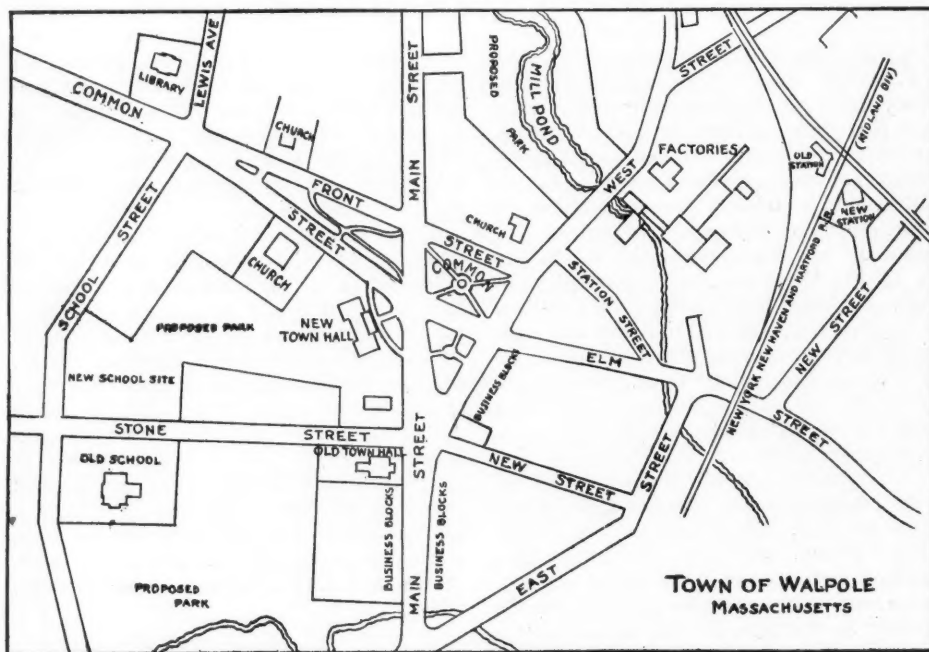
A city plan has been drawn up and adopted which provides a logical development for the town. A system of zoning has also been mapped out which effectively divides the industrial, residential and business sections. There are plants now in operation for cement, brick, tile, soda pulp, tanning extracts, hosiery, industrial alcohol, hides, leather, glass, acids, and dyes. These have been located with satisfactory freight facilities, and the homes of the workers are so situated that they are easy to reach, and yet do not suffer from factory smells, noise or smoke. A civic center has been designed, and the Y. M.

C. A. is now being built. A very effective main avenue runs through the center of the town, laid out with trees, shrubs and flowers, and each residential street receives attention in the way of beautification. Large glass and leather factories are being built, and a considerable number of low-cost workers' homes. The acceptance of town planning by Kingsport is doing much toward its industrial expansion and general prosperity.

Walpole, Mass.

Walpole figured a few years ago in an exhaustive volume, "Town Planning for Small Communities," by Charles S. Bird, Jr. It was largely a program of what might be done. Since that time this Massachusetts town of about 5000 people has accomplished a great deal of the scheme as originally drawn up.

It first began by adopting the town plan and insisting that all future changes must be in conformity thereto. Next there was a regular course of progression. Grade and building lines were adopted in advance of construction, open space reserved in streets for planting and for the trolley car system, prohibition of three story tenements, etc.



HOW THE CITIZENS OF WALPOLE, MASS., ARE IMPROVING THEIR TOWN

(A civic center is created, with ample park space and recreation areas. Important building features are a new town hall, a modern firehouse, and a more accessible railroad station. Some new streets are opened and others are widened. Part of the scheme has been carried out, and all future development will be in harmony. Rearranging established communities furnishes problems differing from those of the town laid out on farm sites)



GROUP HOUSES LOCATED NEAR THE BUSINESS SECTION OF KINGSFORT, TENN.

(Ten years ago the site was a farm; five years ago a village of 900 persons, and now a town of 10,000)

These were legal acts which made way for street widenings, new road arrangements and curve eliminations in the center of the town.

Extension of several important thoroughfares has been done and others have been surveyed and laid out. A park of thirty-five acres in the rear of the Town Hall has been acquired and improved, including the Civic Center as planned for Walpole. An addition of nineteen acres has been made to the grounds of the High School, and lesser amounts to the playgrounds of several of the other schools. Much attention has been devoted to recreation and baseball grounds, and play areas have been laid out in all the new park sections acquired. A Town Forest of 175 acres is being developed adjoining the High School which will be a valuable public acquisition both recreationally and financially as time progresses.

Kistler, Penn.

The decision of the Mount Union Refractories Company to establish an industrial village for the employees of its plant was made some years ago, but it was not allowed to rest on paper. It was put into effect on sixty acres of land adjoining the works. This is a very attractive part of the Alleghany Mountain region through which runs the Juniata River, and was an excellent setting for the project. The town is on the Pennsyl-

vania Railroad main line from Harrisburg to Altoona. The site, which is of a terraced formation above the river, has been developed into a street system on topographical lines.

The streets vary from forty to seventy feet in width and are abundantly planted. The vicinity of the proposed railroad depot has been laid out with park areas, and these front a convenient community center of stores, etc. The village green, playfield and park areas are equipped with modern improvements, and a definite encouragement is given for the people to take advantage of these reserves. Much of the house construction is of a low-cost type, six-room houses being built for as small a sum as \$1600 each in 1915 and 1916. Although many houses are rented, most of them are sold, and there is considerable thought and labor bestowed by the individual owners on their homes in planting trees, flowers and shrubs.

This project is now in the main a finished one, although the making of a new town may be said never to be finished. At any rate, standing as it does as an industrial housing settlement designed on modern principles of land subdivision with better living and social advantages, it gives point to the statement of a social worker who studied Kistler and said:

"The modern employer is beginning to realize that his efforts have almost exclusively been for the plant and only incidentally,



A BACK-YARD VIEW IN THE KISTLER INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE, NEAR MOUNT UNION, CENTRAL PENNSYLVANIA

if at all, for the operative; fortunately he is becoming an experimenter, at least, in finding ways and means of making communities of homes—with all that this means in better health, better morals, higher social standards and increased efficiency."

Cohasset, Mass.

Cohasset is of a type out of the common, although there are other similar places along the New England coast. It is rural, individual, a survival in a large measure of the old-time community life. On a harbor of its own, it receives the broad Atlantic as it sweeps through Massachusetts Bay. The coast has here its own peculiar attractions which have made it a magnet for residential and tourist life. The Cohasset Improvement association has taken over the problem of preserving the scenic value of the locality and of improving buildings, highways and beaches. They realize that these are the great local assets, and have recently spent nearly \$100,000, raised by private initiative, for this work.

Among the improvements accomplished are: First, the improvement of the town common, acquiring additional open area at this point, making an important road alteration at the intersection of lines of traffic and providing new and improved facilities for automobile parking. In addition, these changes open up the view of a fine Gothic church, the work of Ralph Adams Cram, the Boston architect. Second, the acquisition of Sandy Beach, which is an exceptionally fine stretch of seashore. With this improvement is coupled the removal of the cheap temporary erections used for bath houses and the construction of a Community Bath House.

Third, an ugly wooden stable which formerly stood opposite the railway station has been acquired and removed, and plans have been prepared for a comprehensive treatment of the station and its approaches.

These town improvements in Cohasset will not stop here, as the plans and recommendations of the town planner made some time ago—and of which the executed work is part—will be carried into effect as soon as the necessary preliminaries can be made.

The conservation of natural features along the Massachusetts coast urgently demands public attention.

Union Park Gardens, Wilmington, Del.

This settlement is an outcome of the war, built by the Liberty Land Company, of Wilmington, at the instance of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. Although a piece of planning done in a hurry when the hours of war-days were precious, it exhibits an instance of a well-balanced landscape design. Covering fifty-eight acres, it houses about 2500 people, and is an actuality. The occupants are mainly workers in the neighboring shipbuilding and industrial plants, and there are more than 500 houses, either semi-detached or grouped. The street system has been connected up with Wilmington.

The main artery, Grant Avenue, is 125 feet wide, and at the intersection with Lancaster Avenue a village green has been laid out, with proposed community building and already erected apartment buildings. This is a very interesting town center, and appropriately planted. Grant Avenue is divided into two roads for traffic purposes, and the other streets are of varying widths as their use dictates. No alleys are provided in the area, but garbage and ashes are removed from front areaways. While the school site allows of a baseball field and other recreation, the village green, the central park area and the woods to the south offer abundant scope for the employment of leisure time.

The landscape-gardening design has been under the supervision of Professor L. D. Cox, of Syracuse University, a recognized specialist in tree-planting. This housing development is practically complete—houses,

roads, tree-planting, and, of course, the engineering requisites of water, sewers, etc., being almost all done. Messrs. Ballinger & Perrot, of Philadelphia, were responsible for the architecture and engineering work. Though the pressing war necessities have passed, the project remains, and has become the home of many hundreds of the workers in the neighboring shipyards and factories.

Myers Park, Near Charlotte, N. C.

The Stephens Company, of Charlotte, began in 1912 the development of a high-class residential suburb, about a mile south-east from the center of Charlotte. This project is now an accomplished fact, and among the characteristically beautiful suburbs of American cities, Myers Park has no secondary place. It covers an area about three miles in length and varying from a few hundred feet to one mile in width. There are over 600 residence lots, the minimum of which is one-half acre with a frontage of no less than 100 feet and depth of 200 feet.

A street system has been arranged which takes the street-car line from Charlotte on the main boulevard, providing good transportation throughout the estate. The streets vary from 40 to 110 feet in width, and are graduated according to the amount of transit over them. The boulevard is divided for traffic purposes into two carriage ways. In every street there are planting strips in which shade trees, such as the willow oak, tulip, and plane predominate. The area is a re-

stricted residential one and there are regulations governing the building lines, side lines, fences, etc. Throughout the streets all useful signs and conveniences have been properly designed to harmonize with the spirit of the place.

About 150 acres are reserved for park use, including the picturesque ravines and banks of creeks. Queens College, with over 250 students, gives an individuality to the neighborhood which is still farther enhanced by the noteworthy landscape gardening throughout the tract. Not only have beautiful gardens been laid out, with fountains, pergolas, sculpture, terraces, and lawns, but Mr. Earl S. Draper has carried out a novel scheme of transplanting big trees, some hundreds being planted. This section bids fair to introduce some really distinctive landscape features which will show increased possibilities in residential planning peculiarly southern.

The Future of the Small Town

The future in America is likely to be largely in the smaller towns and cities, according to the most observant of our publicists. A return to the land is inevitable, both from the food-producing point of view and the pressure of living costs in the great cities, the latter affecting both employers and employed. Thus the smaller town will come into its own. Every resource, therefore, to improve its communal life should be pressed into service.



A RESIDENTIAL STREET IN MYERS PARK, NORTH CAROLINA, SHOWING EFFECTIVENESS IN PLANTING

WHY THE "UTILITIES" ARE THE PEOPLE'S BUSINESS

BY H. M. ADDINSELL

(Member of Public Utilities Securities Committee of the Investment Bankers Association)

PROBABLY no single agency has been more instrumental in facilitating the tremendous strides that have been made in the development of modern civilization in this country during the last half century than the enterprise and progressiveness of the men back of the public utility business—the business of supplying street railway, gas, electric and telephone service. From the investors' standpoint these services, when intelligently conceived and executed, provide a basis for investment which, in view of the indispensable and permanent character of the service they render, is second only to the basis afforded by the municipalities themselves.

The early history of the public utilities included cases of over-capitalization and inordinate profits, as a result of which public regulation was instituted through the medium of State Public Service Commissions whose powers include the regulation of rates, service, or issues of securities, or sometimes all three. In view of their inexperience and zealotry to protect the public's interest these commissions originally assumed an over-restrictive attitude.

The tendency was to regulate rates downward; and the rise in costs brought about by war conditions has placed many of these companies, in view of the difficulties of obtaining legitimate rate increases, in a position where it has been only with great difficulty that they could render the service required of them and obtain the necessary new capital to finance their steadily expanding business. The commissions, and the public sentiment which they naturally reflect, are gradually becoming educated with regard to the necessities of the situation; and certain rate increases have been granted to companies in practically every class of public utility business. As a general proposition, however, rate increases have been neither sufficiently prompt nor adequate to facilitate the exercising of the public function of these companies,

or to give legitimate investors in their securities—especially junior securities—the fair treatment to which they are entitled.

Attitude of the Thoughtless Citizen

The average citizen is still apt to read in the newspapers with a rather detached unconcern—if, in fact, he troubles to read at all—of the efforts of the local street railway to obtain authority to increase the price of the transportation it sells in order to meet the increased cost of producing this service. If he does read, it is with a feeling of resentment at even the possibility that the street railway fares which he must pay may be raised, mingled perhaps with a mild sporting interest in whether the city or the company is getting the better of the controversy.

The cost of practically everything else the citizen purchases has doubled in the last few years. If he is a merchant he is meeting that situation by selling his goods at higher prices. In fact, even the sensational newspapers that often fight so bitterly for "the people's rights," as against the right of a public service company seeking merely a living wage for the service it renders, have in practically all cases doubled and in many cases trebled the selling price of their copies as well as their advertising rates. The citizen buys his newspaper at the increased price without hesitancy, although he is apt to feel that a raise in the price of a street railway ride, or in electrical, gas or telephone service, is an imposition. It seems to him an infringement on his rights as a citizen not to be able to obtain service at accustomed low rates, whether or not the rising tide of prices the companies must pay to produce those services is sweeping them first to inefficient service and finally even to bankruptcy. And he is tempted to feel, also, that no matter what the equities of the situation may be, here is one case in which he has something to say about the high cost of liv-

ing, and that through his efforts, or even his apathy, these items may be kept down.

Who Owns the Public Utilities?

A very large proportion of the population of this country is directly or indirectly interested financially in the proposition that the public utilities receive a square deal. Mr. Carl D. Jackson, chairman of the Wisconsin Railroad Commission, has made the following statement that is of interest in this connection:

The actual ownership of most public utilities is by the people themselves. The first liens on most public utilities are very often owned by trust companies, banks, and largely by insurance companies throughout the United States. Nearly every man carries an insurance policy. The average citizen has a bank account, yet not one citizen out of a hundred realizes that in one form or another his actual savings and insurance and his wife's and children's welfare depend upon the solvency and continued operation of public utilities. There is probably not one man in fifty whom we meet on the street who does not own a part of a public utility, whether he knows it or not. So the questions relating to public utilities are not confined to the consumers on one side and the public utilities, as such, on the other, but the whole question is one involving financially nine-tenths of the entire population.

Thus it will be seen that the funds already engaged in the public utility business have been provided by the public themselves either directly or indirectly.

Electricity, Gas, Street Railway, Telephone —All Indispensable

That the services rendered by public utilities, such as electric light, and power, gas, street railway, and telephone companies, are an indispensable part of our modern economic structure is so obvious as to hardly need discussion. It is practically impossible to conceive of modern industrial business or domestic life without the facilities rendered by the electric light and power company. The great convenience of electricity for lighting purposes needs no comment; and so many and diverse are its uses in the power field, and so indispensable has it become, that it has now established itself as an operating charge on practically every industry and business.

The convenience and economy of gas for cooking purposes and industrial heating uses have established the gas industry in a similar way in that field. Popular belief to the contrary notwithstanding, the total amount of gas sold in the United States has shown an average annual increase since 1908 of ap-

proximately 13 per cent., the rate of annual increase being greater in 1919 than in any preceding year.

Modern business could not be conducted on its present scale without the telephone, and in our domestic life it needs only a temporary suspension of service to make us realize how dependent on it we have become in our social intercourse.

The street railway is an indispensable part of the necessary transportation facilities of a modern city. The recent report made to the President of the United States by the Federal Electric Railway Commission, a body of representative men appointed by the President and which devoted many months of exhaustive study to the situation, says:

The electric railway industry at present is a factor of essential importance in the urban life and, to a scarcely less extent, in interurban relations of the country.

The experience of seventy-five years, the unanimous opinion of expert witnesses, and of those who are students of transportation problems, and the assumption of the necessity for tracks by inventors working to improve the methods of street transportation, alike demonstrate the fundamental and permanently essential nature of the railway—and to the present time of the electric railway—as the most nearly adequate, reliable, and satisfactory system available for transporting the maximum number of people through the streets of our cities with the least interference with the use of these streets for other purposes of public ways.

Living Down a Bad Reputation

The history of the public utility business is, comparatively speaking, not a very long one. However, the industry has achieved such enormous proportions that the capitalization of the companies now in that business is estimated at over \$15,000,000,000. The history of these companies has not been free from incidents that have created a popular prejudice against them. Too often in the earlier days the managers assumed a "public-be-damned" attitude; too often dishonest operators used these companies as a means to exploit the public they were supposed to serve, and too often were the franchises under which the companies operate used as a medium for all sorts of graft abuses.

The day of these abuses is past, but the memory of them remains in the public mind. The names "public service" and "corporation" have been symbolical in the minds of a large proportion of the public as "predatory malefactors of great wealth." Without knowledge of the facts, and based on a few notorious examples of exploitation, graft,

etc., they have arrived at the empirical conclusion that every public service corporation is not only rich but also bad. The average citizen of otherwise good character would be apt to have no scruples about beating the gas or electric company on its bill, and would ride on the street cars without paying his fare, without admitting to himself that he is stealing from the owners of the street railway company the price of his fare just as much as if he had taken the money out of their till. And if he did admit it, he would be likely to feel that he is entirely justified in getting the better of the opulent corporation that would lose no opportunity to get the better of him.

The public utility business is not shrouded in mystery. Its problems are primarily the business problems of any enterprise—production, selling, executive, and financial. If it is to be successful, like any other business it must be able to sell its product at a price that shows a profit over the cost. It is generally recognized that in the merchandising of commodities the selling price must keep step with the manufacturing cost.

There seems, however, to be a rather general though unfounded impression that public utility companies should be able to operate successfully and charge a fixed price for their service irrespective of the cost of producing the service. As a matter of fact, public utility companies turn over their capital much less frequently than do industrial enterprises and the margin of profit to public utilities is smaller than to industrial enterprises. Therefore the need of maintaining the margin of profit intact is of vital importance.

How Cost of Operating Has Increased

The magnitude of the increased costs of operation which the public utilities have had to face in the last few years is indicated by the following:

During the year ended June 30, 1914, wages paid by the Interborough Rapid Transit Company (New York subway and elevated roads) to its motormen, conductors, and guards aggregated \$2,998,091, or 22.23 cents per car mile. During the year ended June 30, 1920, wages aggregated \$8,214,095, or 48.79 cents per mile, an increase of nearly 120 per cent. Total transportation expenses for the same periods were \$7,526,814, or 55.82 cents per car mile in 1914, and \$21,289,981, or 126.47 cents per car mile in 1920, an increase of 126 per cent.

That the Interborough Rapid Transit Company's problem of increased wages has been in no way unique is indicated by the fact that the American Electric Railway Association reports that the average wages paid to employees by sixty traction companies operating over 100 miles of track each rose from 28.14 cents per hour in 1914 to 54.02 cents per hour for the first six months of 1920.

Practically all classes of public utility companies have been similarly affected. The Peoples Gas Light & Coke Company of Chicago, for instance, paid 94 per cent. higher wages to its labor, 158 per cent. more per ton for coal and coke and 83 per cent. more per gallon for gas oil in 1919 than in 1914. Reports made to the American Gas Association indicate that during the same period the average price paid by gas companies throughout the country for gas coal increased approximately 70 per cent., and the price paid for gas oil increased over 250 per cent.

More Power to the Public Service Commission!

Probably one reason that the general public is apt to think that the public utility business is cloaked in a mantle of infallible profits is that these companies operate in the public streets under public franchise, and they usually have a monopoly to supply an indispensable commodity in a given community. However, generally speaking, to offset this, they operate under the control and supervision of Public Service Commissions. Practically all the States have such commissions with jurisdiction extending to one or more forms of public utilities. All States should have them, and their jurisdiction should extend to all public utilities in the State. This would be a long stride toward the solution of public utility problems.

The commission should have complete control over the operations, methods of accounting, rates charged, and financing of the companies. Its jurisdiction should extend to all public utilities, in order to prevent the possibility of local situations arising (such as now exists because of municipal control of these matters in certain cities) where political considerations impede the dispensing of justice. To remove the commissioners themselves from the influence of politics the commissioners should be appointed and not elected. Commission regu-

lation if conscientiously administered protects the interests of the public, the company, and the investors in its securities.

An Elastic Rate for Service

The public utility business, generally speaking, has not been at all profitable in recent years, as far as earning a reasonable return on the capital invested in the public service is concerned. Rate regulation has not been sufficiently prompt, elastic, or adequate to meet the rapidly changing conditions. The business is becoming what it certainly should be in view of the essential nature of the industry—a regulated monopoly—but rate regulation should not be confined merely to permitting rates that will keep the companies out of bankruptcy.

Rates should be elastic, under the control of public regulating bodies, so that they may be changed when necessary to permit the company at all times to earn sufficient amounts to operate the property, pay taxes, and provide funds for the maintenance and depreciation of the property devoted to the public service and for a reasonable return on the capital investment represented thereby. The service rendered may thus at all times be efficient, and in addition the company will be permitted to make and pay a reasonable return on money legitimately invested.

These last two points are the essence of the entire matter. From the standpoint of the welfare, progress, and prosperity of the community served, these services must be first-class in every respect to insure facility of doing business and comfort in domestic life. That is why the amount of income of the company must be sufficient to make adequate provision for the upkeep of their property in first-class operating condition. Of paramount importance also is the proposition that the capital invested in the business must be assured of a reasonable return. The business of a public service corporation is not static; it cannot stand still; it must continuously expand its facilities to meet the growth of the community served.

Where Will New Capital Be Found?

Here again the proposition of facility of doing business and comfort of living in the community are inextricably involved. To increase its plant a company must obtain additional funds. The public will not allow rates for service high enough to enable public utilities to set aside funds from earnings for necessary capital expenditures. That

would not be fair to the public. But the funds must be forthcoming if the public's interests are to be conserved, and the only source available is the investing public.

A company can obtain funds from the investing public only if its record historically justifies the expectation that prospectively its earnings will be such as reasonably to insure income sufficient to pay the interest on additional capital expenditures required. The investor has many opportunities to place his money safely and at attractive interest rates. Nothing will make him invest in public utilities unless he can be convinced that the investment is not only a good one but also a better one than others that are offered.

Much has been said about the over-capitalization—so-called "watering" of stock—of public utility companies. In some instances criticism along these lines is justified, but capitalization is not the basis on which rates should be regulated. In fact, it is the general practice to-day to ignore capitalization in rate-making proceedings. A fair basis is the legitimate investment in the property, although the physical duplication value is frequently taken as the base line.

The People's Business

I believe that the shadows that have been cast on public utility securities—primarily through lack of sufficiently elastic rate regulation—back of which stands uneducated public opinion, will gradually pass away.

Regulation should be on the basis of service-at-cost, a procedure successfully adopted in a number of cities, where the company's rates may be changed from time to time in order to permit it to earn operating expenses, taxes, maintenance and depreciation charges, and a reasonable return on the capital invested in the business. No maximum rates should be included in the service-at-cost plan, as it is impossible to project ourselves into the future and predict what the cost of producing these services may be. If the cost becomes greater, the public served should pay higher rates; if it becomes smaller, the public should receive the benefit of lower rates.

A permanent solution of the difficulties confronting public utilities can be achieved only when the people come to realize that the public service business is the people's business, not only from their direct or indirect financial interest therein, but from the standpoint of the comfort, progress and prosperity of the communities served.

THE COTTON COUNTRY'S WAY OUT

BY E. E. MILLER

(Editor of the *Southern Agriculturist*)

NORMALLY, from three-fifths to two-thirds of the world's crop of commercial cotton is grown in thirteen of our Southern States. In these thirteen States, on an average, something over 34,000,000 acres is planted to cotton, with an average production of about a third of a bale to the acre. The total value of the cotton crop jumped from \$631,000,000 in 1915 to \$1,122,000,000 in 1916 and has increased every year since until this year. Last year's crop of 11,030,000 bales, grown on 33,340,000 acres of land, was worth, on an average, 35.7 cents a pound, or about two billion dollars.

The U. S. Department of Agriculture made some investigations into the cost of producing cotton last year and decided that the average cost in the counties where these investigations were made was about 23 cents a pound. The Department also estimated that a price of 28 cents a pound would be necessary to give 80 per cent. of the growers a fair profit on their crop. This is what is called the bulk cost of production, as distinguished from the average cost, and is the figure at which a crop must be sold to encourage its continued production.

Selling the Crop at Less than Cost

These figures of production cost cannot, of course, be taken as accurate for the whole cotton territory; but they are at least indicative. Even though they might be slightly high or low, it is evident that cotton was a profitable crop last year. The result was an increased acreage and a larger crop grown at a very high cost. There can be no doubt that the average cost per pound of this year's crop will be greater than was that of last year. The selling price is now around 21 cents a pound. A majority of the cotton-growers will receive less for this year's crop than it cost them to produce it.

For any section to see its main crop disposed of at less than cost is for it to face

the possibility of serious conditions. It was the natural thing for cotton-growers to organize as never before, for them to have the backing of Southern business men generally, for them to attempt to hold the crop off the market, and for them to protest, as they have done, against all policies of the Federal Reserve Board and the U. S. Treasury which seemed to them in any way responsible for the lower price of cotton. It was perhaps natural, too, that in a few sections the more ignorant farmers should resort to threats and violence to keep cotton off the market or to reduce the visible supply. It is not likely that any of these things will greatly influence prices this season. If the farmers could hold their cotton off the market they could doubtless secure higher prices for it; but there is too much cotton that is mortgaged for supplies the growers and their families have already consumed. This cotton must be sold. Also, while the legal machinery for the storage of cotton in bonded warehouses, where it can be kept indefinitely and where it will be good collateral, has been provided, the warehouses needed to hold it are yet mostly to be built. Present efforts to secure a higher price for cotton, and to give the growers a voice in determining what the price shall be, are more interesting for what they promise in other years than for anything they are likely to accomplish immediately.

A Better Market for 1921

Preparations for the better marketing of next year's crop are even now being made. Oklahoma cotton-growers have organized a great pool or marketing association which will not attempt to handle this year's crop, but is preparing itself to take care of that of 1921. South Carolina is issuing bonds for the building of warehouses, a work that is obviously for the future rather than for this year. The American Cotton Association, while doing all it can for the present

crop, is stressing better farming methods and building up its organization for coming years. There is a very decided determination on the part of the cotton country to have some voice in the pricing of its leading market crop. It is to the interest of the whole country as well as of the South that the cotton-growers have such a voice. Cotton is one of our greatest export commodities, and it certainly does not conduce to national prosperity to have a great export commodity sold at a price that keeps the producers poor.

There remains the very practical question as to what cotton-growers can do to give themselves a larger control over this product, as to how they can become sufficiently independent in a financial sense to go into the markets of the world and bargain with the cotton-buyers instead of, as now, taking from necessity, whatever may be offered them.

More Businesslike Methods

The first great thing they must do is to put their farming on a sounder basis. No legislation that may be enacted, no organization they may be able to effect, will make them able to base the selling price of cotton upon the cost of production until they own the crop when it is made. A cotton crop mortgaged to pay for the living of its grower while he was producing it belongs not to that grower, but to the man who supplied him. It must be sold when the supply man calls for his money. The South has made great progress in recent years away from the "all-cotton" methods of the old days; but cotton still takes up too large a proportion of the cultivated land, and is still too largely depended upon to supply a living for its producers. The work of educating not only the actual growers of cotton, but also the large land-owners, the merchants and the bankers of the cotton country, to the benefits of a rational system of diversified farming must be continued. Until the South raises its own living, speaking at large, and makes cotton really a money, or surplus, crop, it cannot hope to market its cotton in orderly fashion.

Every increase in the acreage planted to food and feed crops in the cotton country, every development of a more staple and profitable livestock industry, adds to the cotton-growers' ability both to produce cotton at a reasonable cost and to finance the crop after it is produced. The present acreage yield of cotton is shamefully low—which means, of course, that the cost of production

is much higher than it need be. The growing of cotton in a regular rotation with the grains and the soil-building legumes could bring the average acre production up to a half-bale or more in five years' time. Many farmers have already greatly increased the productive capacity of their cotton lands by such means, and the farmers who have backed their cotton-growing by the judicious raising of livestock—as so many Georgia farmers have done with hogs, for example, or as so many Mississippi farmers are doing with cattle—are the farmers who will suffer least from this year's depression of cotton prices. The best security an individual or a section can have against going "broke" on any particular crop is a diversification of crops.

Once the farmers really own the cotton crop, coöperative marketing associations, utilizing the National Warehouse Act, will be in position to let the crop out as the market demands it, instead of dumping nearly all of it, as now, upon the market as soon as ginned. They will also be in position to sell directly to the mills or to exporters.

Government Warehouses

The National Warehouse Act is a very simple measure, but it provides the means by which the cotton-grower can hold his cotton and borrow money on it instead of rushing it to market when the price is unduly low. Briefly, this act provides for the establishment, under government supervision, of warehouses of approved type. The managers of these warehouses must be bonded and the buildings and their contents fully protected by insurance. In one of them the grower may store his cotton, each bale being weighed and graded as it is taken in, and having a transferable warehouse receipt issued against it. This receipt is by its very nature collateral of high class, and the Federal Reserve System makes it possible for the bank loaning money on it to rediscount it, thus giving it a fixed standing in any money market. Already these warehouse receipts have won general acceptance as a basis for credit; but the number of bonded warehouses is yet so small that no appreciable part of the crop can be stored in this way.

A sanely diversified farming system, the building of approved warehouses, the organization of coöperative marketing associations—these combine to make for the cotton-farmer a plain and safe road out from his present troubles to financial independence and a stabilized price for his great sale crop.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

SENATOR HARDING'S ANSWERS TO BUSINESS QUESTIONS

WITH the purpose of making known to business men and employers the views of the next President of the United States, on the relations of government and business, Mr. Neil M. Clark, representing *System* (Chicago), went to Marion shortly before the election and propounded certain questions to Senator Harding. The replies that he received from the Senator are published in the November number of *System*.

The first question really included two:

What concrete, specific aids do you feel the Government can render the business man which it has not rendered in the past? Do you feel that anything comparable to what the Department of Agriculture is doing could be done by the Department of Commerce?

Senator Harding's answer follows:

Government's highest function is to serve business and to give it the fullest opportunity for righteous activity.

Business is wholly a private function. It is founded on the genius and enterprise and efficiency of those who conduct it. We have drifted in later days to a good deal of unjustified and unnecessary and unhappy interference of Government in private business.

About the greatest service the Government could render at the present time is to take its hands off of legitimate and honest enterprise and tell it to go ahead and do the most and best that is possible. That is what makes a great commercial and industrial nation.

On the other hand, I do think it is the Government's function to foster and encourage and assist the expansion of foreign trade. At the present time, contemplating our tremendous development of productivity, our advanced position in the development of machinery, and what is recognized as outstanding American efficiency, a great service our Government can render is to put its consular agents at work finding us markets throughout the world for the expansion of trade, thus allowing us to continue our unparalleled productivity and find a market for our excess in foreign countries.

As to the Department of Commerce, my own thought is that it ought to be made the greatest agency of business expansion for this republic

that we have. We have not done one-tenth what we ought to do.

To outline a specific program would be very difficult. But my thought is, if we are to continue our American good fortune, we should take advantage of our wealth of resources and our development of productivity, and have Government aid first in finding markets, and second in taking the 11,000,000 tons of shipping we have and guaranteeing to the American producer dependable and prompt shipment to all the marts of the world.

We have been very remiss in our carrying capacity on the high seas. The war has left us the one great physical asset that enables us to build the greatest merchant marine in the world; and one of the ways to extend our trade is to have not only Government agents abroad discovering markets, but the still more effective agencies of transportation lines seeking business, which is one of the greatest trade builders that we know. With established shipping lines to the important marts of the earth you have this combined endeavor, which will do for us what any aspiring maritime and commercial nation ought to wish for.

I believe that Government assistance is the necessary policy. Every other conspicuous commercial power on earth is assisting, and we have been ridiculously remiss.

Before the war our two most formidable competitors in foreign trade were Germany and England. Germany was a growing and very forceful factor in foreign trade.

Today our competitors are Britain and Japan. There are no two nations in the world where the governments give more attention to the promotion of foreign trade than in Britain and Japan.

To the second question, relating to the use of business executive ability in government administrative posts, Senator Harding replied:

Government is a great business in itself. It is the greatest business we know of anywhere, and it is perfectly plain to any man that business efficiency in Government would be just as helpful as executive efficiency is in business.

I do not think that a high-grade business man is always better fitted for a Government service than many men who are called to responsibility without business experience.

We had a fine illustration of that during the

war. Many hundreds of men were called in a patriotic service to the Government during the war anxieties who failed utterly in their tasks because they could not get the viewpoint of a public servant dealing with a public problem. They did not differentiate between a man being a sponsor for his own immediate task, and the sponsorship for a public service.

Let me make this point clear. A man may be a success in business within the horizon of his own activities which he can know intimately. When he steps into public service he has a very much wider horizon and deals with a variety of elements. He has to take into consideration geographical and sociological and political conditions in a broad sense—I do not mean petty politics—and it is a little difficult for him to adjust himself to the new situation, whereas the man who is schooled in public service senses these varying conditions and is in a position to meet them because of his experience.

That does not in any way challenge the wisdom of efficient business methods applied to Government. It only raises the question of a business man successful in his own particular field being the best man to fit a definite public position.

It is a question of training in a particular line of service.

The third question asked the Senator's opinion regarding the excess profits tax, and inquired what steps should be taken by the Government in connection with the limitation of profits. On this subject Senator Harding referred to an earlier statement of his opinion that the excess profits tax should be amended:

We need some righteous substitute. There is no probable program of drastic economy that would permit us to do without a considerable portion of the sum which now comes from that source. But I think the excess profits tax is a hindrance to business. It is a very notable contribution to the high cost of living because every successful business institution can protect itself and pass the tax on to the consumer. The unsuccessful institution does not pay any tax, and it does not matter whether it protects itself or not. I do not think we ought to penalize productivity in the United States.

The excess profits tax was all right as a war emergency because the funds of the republic were necessarily at the command of the Government. We ought to find an equitable and righteous substitute, but with that endeavor we must of necessity prune at every turn to reduce Government expenditures.

I do not believe at all in Governmental limitation of profits except in manifest instances of profiteering. A man who has the genius to create a thing that is widespread in its popular demand, and develops the efficiency to cheapen production and sell to greater advantage and at the same time with a better profit than anybody else, should not be penalized by the Government. Genius of that sort makes us commercially and industrially eminent. But Government must step in where excessive profits are exacted in handling the necessary public commodities.

As to the regulation of retail profits in the States, I consider that is warranted only to the extent of guarding against profiteering in periods of stress and anxiety akin to those of war.

As to the budget system, Senator Harding declared his belief that it is essential to good administration:

We have been convinced for a long time that the loose and slipshod methods of making appropriations are very extravagant and unwise. We need to have a system which will make a thoroughly businesslike appropriation of Government funds for the conduct of Government departments. Of course under the Constitution Congress must always have its hand on the expenditure of public funds, but it is not humanly possible for even the hard-working members of an appropriations committee to know specifically the wise apportionment of public funds, and Congress ought not to be held responsible in any intimate way for thousands of appropriations concerning which the members can know little or nothing.

On the subject of relations between employers and employees, and specifically the principle of the Kansas Industrial Court, Mr. Harding remarked: "I do not think we have reached the stage where we need to consider seriously an industrial court for all private activities, or enforced arbitration in disputes in private activities."

The next question looked to the improvement of the coal situation, and on this the Senator's comments were as follows:

I think there are two railroad factors, maybe three, contributing to the embarrassment of that situation. The first is the shortage of cars, due in part to the transition period.

War found us with a supersedure in transportation. The old style of open top car was passing out and the new and larger steel hopper cars were coming in. In the stress of war service the old cars were unduly worn, and they were not held to be worth thorough repairs. Yet we had not acquired enough of the new cars by any manner of means. The crisis comes and finds this peculiar condition of neglected cars on the one hand, and on the other hand an insufficiency of the more modern equipment. It requires thousands and thousands of cars to meet the situation.

Again, I am told—I cannot verify this—that there is a shortage of motive power, coupled with inefficiency of railway service. Men say there are thousands of cars standing idle on the sidings. Maybe they are the cars to which I have referred. At any rate we are short of transportation, admittedly short, and there is no immediate and complete relief for that sort of situation. It is a matter requiring necessary time and enormous expenditure on the part of the railroads.

The Government must help to finance this tremendous project. We cannot neglect our railroads. We are all dependent on them.

The seventh question related to the Webb-

Pomerene Bill, enabling manufacturers who sell their goods abroad to combine under certain circumstances, and to the tendency toward combination in domestic business. The Senator declared his belief in healthful business competition, but as to the Webb-Pomerene Bill he said:

Our ambition is to get into markets abroad. An analogy may be found in the process of combining the discordant elements of home people in war. There may be opposition and political divisions and all that, but when we go into a foreign field we are one people. Our nationality

and our common interests are at stake. Similarly, when we step into the field of commercial activities abroad, we cannot hope to triumph there with the same methods of competitive endeavor that we have at home. We must enter the field in some cooperative effort against the foreign competitor. I quite cordially believe in the Act of Congress which makes possible this cooperative effort in the conquest of foreign trade.

A fine point involved here is whether that permission granted in the foreign field is going to have a reflex at home. I hold faithfully to the theory that with reasonable Government watchfulness you cannot have a permanently strangling combination so long as there exists the genius of man and his ambition to achieve.

HIGH COST OF PRESIDENT-MAKING

AN attempt to estimate the amount of money spent by the American people every year in electing and inaugurating a President is made by Alfred E. Keet, in the *Forum* (New York). Roughly, we spend for primaries \$10,000,000, for conventions \$15,000,000, for the campaign (all parties) \$50,000,000, for expenses incident to voting \$30,000,000, and for inauguration \$30,000,000—a total of \$135,000,000.

Following are the figures as to campaign expenditures from 1860 to 1919:

Year	Candidates	Campaign Fund	Elec. Vote
1860—Lincoln	\$100,000	180
Douglas	50,000	12
Breckenridge	72
1864—Lincoln	125,000	212
McClellan	50,000	21
1868—Grant	150,000	214
Seymour	75,000	80
1872—Grant	250,000	286
Greeley	50,000	...
1876—Hayes	950,000	185
Tilden	900,000	184
1880—Garfield	1,100,000	214
Hancock	355,000	155
1884—Blaine	1,300,000	182
Cleveland	1,400,000	219
1888—Harrison	1,350,000	233
Cleveland	855,000	168
1892—Harrison	1,850,000	145
Cleveland	2,350,000	277
1896—McKinley	16,500,000	271
Bryan	675,000	176
1900—McKinley	9,500,000	292
Bryan	425,000	155
1904—Roosevelt	3,500,000	336
Parker	1,250,000	140
Bryan	750,000	162
1912—Taft	750,000	8
Roosevelt	325,000	88
Wilson	850,000	435
1916—Hughes	2,012,535	254
Wilson	1,400,229	277

The vast sum spent in 1896, to elect McKinley, was due to the extraordinary educational effort of that campaign. The free coinage of silver was the issue that year, and it is said that the printing bill of the Republican Party alone exceeded a million dollars. Single subscriptions to the Republican fund were as high as \$200,000 each.

In the campaign of 1920 the Senatorial inquiry showed that large sums were spent in the primaries on behalf of the various Republican candidates. It was certified that the cost of General Wood's organization and publicity was about \$1,500,000, Governor Lowden's nearly \$500,000, Senator Johnson's nearly \$200,000, and Mr. Hoover's about \$170,000. These candidates each received a large popular vote in the primaries. The nomination expenses of the successful candidate, Senator Harding, are stated to be \$113,109. It appeared from the Senate investigation that the various candidates had spent a total of at least \$10,000,000 in the primaries.

Abraham Lincoln's opinion as to the use of money in national elections is stated in a letter written in 1860, in which he says:

"... I cannot enter the ring on the money basis—first, because in the main it is wrong; and secondly, I have not and cannot get the money... the use of money is wrong; but for certain objects in a political contest the use of some is both right and indispensable. ... I now distinctly say this: If you shall be appointed a delegate to Chicago I will furnish one hundred dollars to bear the expenses of the trip."

The total Lincoln campaign fund for his first election as President was \$100,000. An estimate of the campaign expenditures for 1920 totals \$50,000,000.

THE RECENT SWEDISH ELECTIONS

THE parliamentary elections of 1920 in Sweden resulted in pronounced gains for the Conservative party (the Right) and corresponding disappointments for the Government Socialist party and especially for the more radical wing of that organization. The consequences of the election are discussed at some length in *Svensk Tidskrift*, of Stockholm, for October.

It is a long time, says that journal, since a Swedish election campaign has been carried through so dispassionately and so free from sensational features. The Socialist leader, Branting, characterized the campaign as a sane and instructive discussion of different social theories, and other prominent members of the Left have stated that the political contest of 1920 is a high tribute to the ability of the people to judge calmly, and that the clean and good "tone" in it all is the result of the healthy and purifying influence of the régime of the Lefts. The Swedish people had full opportunity to deliberate before making its choice.

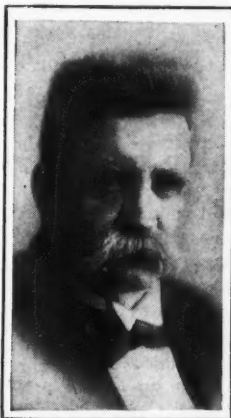
Commenting on the unmistakable drift to the Right revealed by the elections to the Lower House, the *Svensk Tidskrift* says:

The elections to the lower house have shown an unmistakable drift to the Right. Successes for the class-political Agrarian groups certainly have not been lacking, but these have been confined within more reasonable limits, and it must be noted that they have been wrested from the Lefts, principally the Liberals. For the latter, the elections amount to a really serious defeat. A parallel to the decline of the Liberal party during the past nine years, taken as a whole period, cannot be found in modern party history in Sweden. The losses of Left votes in some districts really are appalling. This, in the first place, has hit the Liberals, because the Liberal voters to a great extent have remained away from the polls. They have no longer felt inclined to support a policy which in the name of their expressed faith has led to results which have not justified their confidence. In a lesser degree, but highly significant, the retrogression of the government party is evidenced—the first really serious defeat suffered by the Socialists in Sweden and, therefore, a timely reminder of the good old adage that every success has its day.

Thus the first election for or against purely socialistic principles is an incontrovertible back-sweep against the Socialists, who at least cannot

be denied credit for enlightening the voters as to what the decision would mean. Shattered is the dream of a quickly won Socialistic majority in the Swedish Riksdag. Not the least remarkable fact is that the farm-workers balked, despite recent extensive organization work.

But more remarkable than all else is the almost disastrous defeat of the Bolshevik-colored Left Socialists—a fine example of sanity and discrimination on the part of the Swedish workingman. One of the most gratifying conclusions of these elections is the point that the Muscovite brand of ideals appears to be well on the road to bankruptcy. The Left Socialists banked on securing a score of mandates, but all they got was one-fourth of this number. The prospects after the wind-up are hardly yet to be estimated.



FORMER PREMIER BRANTING
(Socialist leader)

The editor concludes that the new Lower House will have in it Moderate groups nearly equal to the strength of the Socialists themselves, which until now has been overpowering. If to this be added the votes of the Agrarian party, which is usually decidedly conservative, the Socialists will be actually in the minority, and if the Farm Workers group decides to join hands with the two elements just named, the majority over both wings of Socialists will be considerable. A Left majority still exists, but with restrictive margins, and coalition with the Liberals is not as probable as it was.

The *Svensk Tidskrift* is in no doubt as to what brought about the change of attitude on the part of great numbers of voters:

It is certain that the losses sustained by the Lefts are due to the revulsion of the voters against the acts of the Lefts during the past three-year period, especially the unreasonably harsh eight-hour law and the constitutional amendment which overthrew the fundamental rights of the peasantry, but also acts of administrative arbitrariness, as exemplified by the Ryden-system of public instruction. This does not exhaust the explanation. In general it may be said that what has caused this revulsion is an increasing distrust of socialistic as well as radical politics. Even in the labor-world people have begun to doubt the miraculous efficacy of the socialization cures. And the Liberals, in a great measure, have lost the confidence of the voters; it seems that no one knows any longer just where Liberal politics may lead in the end. And so it has happened—as recently in both Norway and Denmark—that Sweden has experienced a substantial landslide toward conservatism.

Considering the immediate consequences of-

the elections, as regards the country's government, the editor says:

No party has a majority in the lower house. The Liberals, who recently put to practical test the theory of "center-of-gravity government" and apparently prepared after a moral victory over both the Conservatives and the Socialists to grasp the reins, do not, for plain enough reasons, seem eager to do so. The Agrarian groups do not under any conditions want to have anything to do with government. As to the Socialists, it must be said on the one hand that in fact they still are the largest party; further, that their administration, which from a parliamentary viewpoint has never been irreproachable, will undergo a change merely in degree and not in character if it should be continued, and finally that in the Åland-controversy there is present an element which, at least for the time being, speaks for the retention of the present ministry.

On the other hand it cannot be denied that the recent elections are a vote of lack of confidence in the Socialist ministry. Herr Branting and his col-

leagues ought to feel that the conservatism really represented in the lower house renders the doctrine of the "largest party" illusory. And above all, the opinion of the rank and file will not allow an altogether too extensive experiment with a Swedish ministry which is in power in direct violation of the earlier parliamentary doctrine—this was clearly demonstrated in the proceedings of the last Socialist party congress. As regards the Rights, they certainly can have no desire under present conditions to take hold of the government; nor can they count on such loyal coöperation of the other parties that the sacrifice of party interests would be considered justified by the demands of the country. That a government of the Rights would be in conflict with parliamentary principles is clear despite the reversal of public opinion as evidenced in the elections.

The new Swedish cabinet formed by Gerard Louis de Geer on October 28 to succeed the Branting ministry held its first session on that date.

SCANDINAVIA'S LESSON TO THE WORLD

THE Scandinavian nations, once the victims of a spirit of intense separatism, have in recent times shown in striking ways how international disputes may be settled without war and with a positive gain to friendship and coöperation.

In the November number of *Scribner's* Mr. Lothrop Stoddard reviews the most significant instances of Scandinavia's solution of her separatist problems, beginning with the Swedish-Norwegian controversy. He shows that the Swedish and Norwegian peoples, though occupying the same peninsula, have had very different historic pasts. Separated from each other by a mountain barrier, their contacts were slight, and such as did occur were usually of a hostile nature. Norway was for centuries politically united to Denmark, and supported that kingdom in the Dano-Swedish wars. The Congress of Vienna in 1814 assigned Norway to Sweden as compensation for Finland, which had been conquered by Russia. The Norwegians were restive under the cession and, although a full measure of autonomy had been granted them, the political union with Sweden was extremely distasteful to them. A long series of disputes culminated in 1905 with Norway's secession from the union.

By the accepted code of European politics such an act on the part of Norway was revolution, and could have no other issue than war. In fact, both countries mobilized, but

the expected struggle did not take place. Mr. Stoddard proceeds to tell how the war was averted:

Cool-headed Swedes realized that to hold down Norway against the settled determination of its people was in the long run impossible, while, after the first moment of passion had passed, both peoples realized with intuitive insight that a desolating war, whatever its outcome, would probably condemn the combatants to a common Russian servitude. Accordingly, the dispute was settled without the shedding of a drop of blood. Sweden recognized Norway's independence, and Norway gladly acceded to Sweden's demand for the total disarmament and neutralization of their common frontier.

Within a few years all traces of bitterness between the two peoples had disappeared, and both Norwegians and Swedes were looking at their common interests. Both had to face the Russian peril. When the Great War broke out in 1914, along with their declarations of neutrality, Sweden and Norway agreed that under no circumstances should the one country take hostile action against the other.

Another good example of a common-sense settlement of a long-standing grievance was the Danish-Icelandic agreement. Although Denmark could easily have crushed the freedom-loving Icelanders at a blow, or could have starved them into submission by a blockade on foodstuffs, such measures were never even considered. By the Act of Union of 1918 Iceland was declared a free, sovereign

state, united with Denmark by a personal bond of union under the same King.

A more recent indication of the Scandinavian attitude in the matter of territorial aspirations is the case of the Aland Islands:

This rocky archipelago lies in the Baltic Sea midway between Sweden and Finland. Its inhabitants are of pure Swedish blood, and until its cession to Russia in 1809 it was considered part of Sweden rather than of Finland. The Alands' importance is mainly strategic, for they virtually dominate Sweden's capital, Stockholm. When Finland threw off the Russian yoke after the downfall of czarism in 1917, the inhabitants of the Aland Islands expressed a wish to go back to Sweden rather than form part of the new Finnish state. Naturally, Swedish public opinion warmly favored the recovery of the Alands. But the Finns strenuously objected, declaring the islands an integral part of their country, which could not be alienated.

The point was warmly debated on both sides

and became a genuine "issue." Considerable bitterness developed, and there was even talk of war. Yet here, as elsewhere in Scandinavia, common sense prevailed, and it was finally decided to bring the matter before the League of Nations for decision. At this writing the case has not been tried. But whatever the verdict, another victory for peace and sanity has been won, and another threat of war has been averted.

Concluding his survey of Scandinavia's recent history, Mr. Stoddard says:

Judged by three of the most trying criteria of human conduct, the Scandinavian peoples have brilliantly met the test. Toward each other, toward their neighbors, and toward the world, they have displayed a striking degree of poise, insight, and self-control. They have settled some of the most crucial problems that can confront nations, and those settlements have been peaceful, just, and with every prospect of constructive permanence.

PROHIBITION AND PROSPERITY AT GRAND RAPIDS

RECENTLY Justice Louis D. Brandeis, of the United States Supreme Court, wrote to the editors of the *Survey*, New York:

We shall soon have had a year of freedom from what have been regarded as the main causes of misery—unemployment, low wages and drink.

What have been the gains from this year of freedom?

What further gain may be expected from the elimination of these causes, and,

What else must be done to make this a livable world?

In response to this suggestion from Justice Brandeis two members of the *Survey* staff spent nearly a month in the city of Grand Rapids, Mich., making a study of the results of prohibition, high wages, and steady work. What they learned in the course of this investigation is published in a special number of the *Survey* (November 6).

Grand Rapids now has a population of about 138,000. It has had prohibition since the spring of 1918. There is a variety of industrial employment in the city, the recent "steady-work" period has not been affected by strikes, and wages and living conditions in Grand Rapids are regarded as fairly typical of many American industrial communities. These were among the reasons that actuated the editors of the *Survey* in choosing the Michigan city as the field of their inves-

tigation. Mr. Winthrop D. Lane writes of the effects of prohibition and Mr. Bruno Lasker of the effects of prosperity.

Mr. Lane gives the following account of the operation of the prohibitory law in Grand Rapids:

When Grand Rapids went dry, at midnight, April 30, 1918, 160 saloons in the city were selling liquor.

There were seven wholesale liquor dealers. Three breweries were turning out large quantities of beer and other alcoholic beverages. Out-of-town brewers had several local agencies. In addition, there were forty or fifty halls, owned by private societies and equipped with bars, over which intoxicating liquors were sold to all-comers. A few restaurants and hotel dining-rooms sold liquor.

This was the equipment for drinking. At five minutes to twelve it was going full blast, with the exception of the breweries and wholesale liquor houses which had prepared for the inevitable some time before. Glasses were clinking in the saloons and halls, and the restaurants had many diners. When people waked up next morning the whole plant had stopped running. The change was almost that sudden and dramatic. The saloon doors had ceased to swing and the restaurants served only water.

Since then the change has been carried further. Two breweries now manufacture soft drinks and the third has gone out of business, or is preparing to do so. The saloons have been replaced by other businesses. The halls have stopped selling liquor and most of them have ceased to exist. The entire equipment for the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages has been either scrapped or diverted to other uses. . . .

Prohibition is a fact in the city. This does not mean that no alcoholic beverages are consumed there. They are. But consumption has been made so difficult through the wrecking of its machinery that the total amount is small in comparison with what it was. To all intents and purposes John Barleycorn is dead in Grand Rapids.

By means of statistics and graphic charts Mr. Lane compares the amount of crime in the years when saloons were open with that after prohibition went into effect:

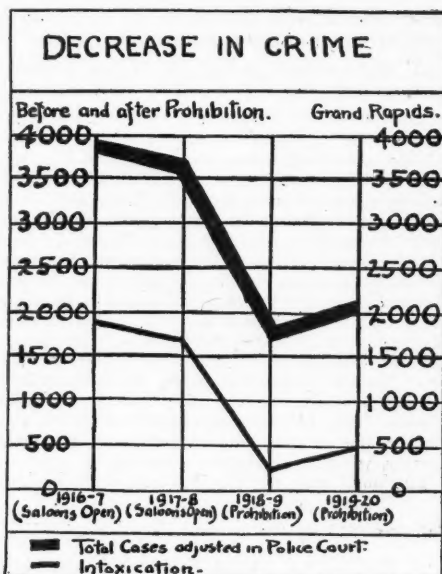
Here is a reduction of 54 per cent. in the first year of prohibition from the average of the two years immediately preceding, and of 45 per cent. in the second year. The average reduction for the two years of prohibition is 49.8 per cent. In other words, the amount of crime was cut almost exactly in two.

In April, 1918—the month before prohibition—there were 138 cases of intoxication in the police court; in May—the first month thereafter—nine.

The general reader will be interested in learning what elements of the Grand Rapids population are hostile to the dry régime. One would expect that such elements would be clearly in evidence whenever an investigation of this kind is undertaken. But Mr. Lane was as greatly surprised as anyone at the small amount of adverse testimony and the absence of denial of the benefits of prohibition. He says:

Those who speak favorably of prohibition in Grand Rapids—and by favorably I mean admit that its effect has been on the whole good—are not merely a majority, they are substantially the citizenry of the town. For this I, frankly, was not prepared. I expected to find an issue sharply dividing the community, not perhaps into equal parts, but at any rate a large and active minority. I found, instead, a close approach to unanimity. There are, of course, those who are making and selling whiskey for gain; they are anti-prohibitionists. (It will not do to set down all those who make beer and wine in the home as opposed to prohibition, for many of them believe in it; their refusal to accept its application to themselves is no more difficult to explain than the occasional speeding of an automobile owner who is not opposed to regulations concerning speed.)

Then there are the habitual and heavy drinkers, who cannot leave alcoholic beverages alone so long as they are obtainable. There are still a few people of Grand Rapids—bartenders and former saloon owners, for the most part—who used to earn their livings in the liquor business and are still wet. If to these we add the people—very few—who still believe that prohibition is an unconstitutional interference with their liberties, we have enumerated about all the real opponents of prohibition. Here, then, are the wets. There remains the overwhelming mass of the population. I found a strong conviction throughout the city that a politician who should go before the people of Grand Rapids to-day on the drink question and attempt to bring the saloon



back would get one of the worst beatings in the history of municipal politics in this country.

As to the prosperity of the workers of Grand Rapids, it appears that they shared with the rest of the country in high prices and high wages, but wages advanced faster than prices. The average daily wage increased between 1917 and 1920 by about 100 per cent. The cost of living for wage-earning families increased by from 65 to 70 per cent. Furthermore, work was steady the year round at Grand Rapids, as there has been an increased demand for furniture and home-furnishings, and at the same time the city has enjoyed freedom from serious strikes.

The bulk of additional earnings, after due allowance for higher prices, goes in substantial home comforts. Frivolous spending has resulted, chiefly, from too rapid an improvement of fortunes in individual cases. Where the pay cheque has grown more gradually, there has been, first, a considerably improved table, better clothes and more amusements; second, a frittering away of small change on incidental expenditures; third, a saving up of larger amounts for more substantial purchases, such as furniture, phonographs, musical instruments, furs, ornamental home furnishings, "flivvers," home purchase. Pawnshop transactions have been reduced by one-third, and debt collection has become easier than ever before. With an unusually large number of savings banks, Grand Rapids has experienced a marked increase of savings.

Clergymen and others especially interested in moral and spiritual welfare are agreed that higher wages and incomes have made for a better life.



POLICE SEARCHING CITIZENS AT THE CITY LIMITS OF DUBLIN

THE "BLACK AND TANS" IN IRELAND

A SPECIAL correspondent of the London *Review of Reviews*, who is described as a former officer in an Irish regiment, having first-hand knowledge of the various political movements in modern Irish history, gives a gloomy picture of present conditions in the Irish towns dominated by the "Black and Tans," who are the new reinforcements of the Irish Police.

Before starting on his tour of investigation in the south of Ireland, this correspondent had an interview with General Macready at the military headquarters in Dublin. More than anyone else General Macready is personally responsible for the present government of Ireland, and he declares that if the government would give him sufficient power, he could very quickly stop the murders of soldiers and police. On the other hand, the *Review of Reviews* correspondent says that he has not met an Irishman anywhere who agrees with General Macready's opinion on that point. The following paragraphs embody some of the correspondent's observations:

I have not met anyone who even believes that General Macready is still in a position to enforce even the most elementary discipline upon the armed forces that are nominally under his control. One of the most disquieting mysteries of the present Irish administration is the fact that although General Macready was appointed with a great flourish of trumpets, to assume the com-

bined control of both military and police, for which his experience at Scotland Yard after he ceased to be Adjutant General at the War Office seemed to fit him particularly, yet he has now, by his own admission, no control whatever over the Irish Police. No one in Ireland can say whose word will or will not be obeyed by the Royal Irish Constabulary.

As for the "Black and Tans," who are the new reinforcements of the Irish Police, they are notoriously a law unto themselves. They are composed of two classes. There is the Special Auxiliary Division of the R. I. C., who have been enlisted at £1 a day exclusively from ex-officers in the Army to assist the police in the defense of the comparatively few police barracks in which they are now concentrated. There are also the ordinary "Black and Tan" recruits, of whom 8000 enlisted during the past month alone, and who have earned a reputation for sheer hooliganism wherever they have been sent in Ireland. Rightly or wrongly, it is believed by all classes of people in Ireland that the lowest elements of the unemployables in England have been freely recruited for the "Black and Tans," and the experience of practically every county would seem to show that many of them are undoubtedly using their position as undisciplined police to loot property on a large scale under the pretext of raiding houses which are suspected of containing arms and ammunition.

The correspondent gives it as his own opinion that were it not for the "Black and Tans" and the pernicious influence that they have brought with them into the whole police force in Ireland, Irish towns would today be as peaceful and as prosperous as any town in England. He also found it impos-

sible to avoid a similar inference as to the city of Cork:

On the day before I arrived there, the "Black and Tans" had exploded a bomb outside the window of one of the largest drapery shops in the city. The whole shop front had been blown in, and right down Patrick Street on both sides of the street and on either side of the shop, practically every window had been blown right in. Window-breaking, after the curfew hour, when any civilian who ventures into the streets is liable to be shot at sight, had become so prevalent that almost every shop front in Patrick Street is boarded up after the shops close. But the bomb outside Cash's drapery house had smashed the windows all along the street right up to the top

stories. So long as the "Black and Tans" remain in the town, no insurance company will consider any application for insurance, and the windows will consequently gape open through the winter.

An intelligent observer put this point to the correspondent:

"The Government will not withdraw the army," he said, "because it must keep it somewhere, and it may be needed any day for use in Labor troubles in England. It is cheaper to keep it in Ireland, where it can be kept in practice without being continually brought under the notice of the Trade Unionists." Is it altogether impossible that some such idea does lurk in the background of the Government's Irish policy?

FINLAND, THE ALAND ISLANDS AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE Council of the League of Nations at its session held in London on July 12 decided to refer to a commission of jurists the question whether the Aland problem (to which reference is made in Mr. Stoddard's article reviewed on page 648) was in international law a purely domestic Finnish affair, or a matter of international interest. The governments of Finland and Sweden having assented to this proposition, a commission was constituted consisting of M. Larnaude, of France; M. Struyken, of Holland; and M. Huber, of Switzerland. This commission decided that Finland was not a constituted state at the date at which the movement in favor of secession started on the Aland Islands, and that therefore the question of the Aland claim to exercise the right of self-determination was of international concern.

On September 20 the Council of the League of Nations met at Paris and resolved to appoint a commission to prepare a report which, having due regard to the legitimate interests of all parties concerned, should enable the Councils to frame a final or provisional settlement of the question. The Finnish representative, M. Enckell, accepted this decision subject to the following declaration:

My acquiescence in the procedure defined is accompanied by this express stipulation:—In the procedure to be followed, my Government reserves the right to maintain the point of view formulated by it from the first, viz., that the legitimate interests of Finland are coincident with its sovereignty over Aland, and that Finland consequently is exclusively entitled to make a decision in regard to a plebiscite.

The Council affirmed that it could only recommend the settlement that appeared to it to be fair and equitable, but had no power to enforce a decision upon the parties. The Council was notified on the part of the Soviet government of Russia that that country would not recognize any arrangement that was arrived at without its participation and consent.

Finnish newspapers of recent date greet with approval of M. Enckell's declaration.

Hufvudstadsbladet (September 15) is, however, hopeful of a friendly solution being reached in view of the more tractable tone which is becoming audible in some influential organs in Sweden. It quotes with satisfaction *Goteborgs Handelstidning*:

It is incontrovertible that Finland is a European state of high culture, or, more precisely, an outpost of Scandinavian culture. A development of hundreds of years has given the country this character which is now, we may hope, ineffaceable. The work of countless generations of Swedish men with plow and sword and book has impressed its stamp upon our former daughter land. This is one of those elemental facts which no transient policy can wave aside, and whose fruits no ephemeral feeling can destroy. It is to Sweden's interest, culturally, politically and economically, that a free and strong Finnish power should exist between Scandinavia and Muscovy.

Such declarations show, says *Hufvudstadsbladet*, that there are yet circles in the old motherland which recognize that Sweden in its relations with Finland has greater and more important interests to protect than the movement among the Alanders for reunion.

THE PILGRIM MOTHERS

AS a people we have been tardy in acknowledging our debt to the women who came over in the *Mayflower*. For some reason the Pilgrim Fathers have been permitted to monopolize most of our praise for what happened at Plymouth three hundred years ago. But on the three hundredth anniversary of the *Mayflower's* voyage the Pilgrim Mother is at last coming into her own. With the unveiling of noble statues at Plymouth and Provincetown, the American people pay honor to the brave women of the *Mayflower*, and there has recently come from the press a book in which Annie Russell Marwell pays a hearty, if belated, tribute to that remarkable little group. The following paragraphs are quoted from this volume:

There must have been exciting days for the women on shipboard and in landing. There must have been hours of distress for the older and the delight in adventure which is an unchanging trait of the young of every generation and race. Wild winds carried away some clothes and cooking dishes from the ship; there was a birth and a death, and occasional illness besides the dire seasickness. There were the sick to be nursed, children to be cared for, including some lively boys who played with gunpowder and nearly caused an explosion; nourishment must be found for all from a store of provisions that had been much reduced by the delays and necessary sales to satisfy their "merchant adventurers" before they left England. They slept on damp bedding and wore musty clothes; they lacked exercise and water for



STATUE TO PILGRIM MOTHERS TO BE ERECTED AT PLYMOUTH, MASS.

(The model of "The Maid of 1620," a statue in memory of the Pilgrim mothers, erected at Plymouth, Mass., in November in connection with the tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. The statue is the first in honor of the women of the *Mayflower*. The figure will be of bronze and will stand six feet, eight inches high. It is the work of Henry H. Kitson, a well-known sculptor of Boston)



STATUE TO PILGRIM MOTHERS AT PROVINCETOWN

(Paul W. Bartlett, the famous New York sculptor, at work on the model of his statue, "The Pilgrim Mother," which will be erected at Provincetown, Mass., in connection with the tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrims)

drink or cleanliness. Joyful must have been the day recorded by Bradford and Winslow: "On Monday the thirteenth of November our people went on shore to refresh themselves and our women to wash, as they had great need."

There were women with frail bodies, like Rose Standish and Katherine Carver, but there were also strong physiques and dauntless hearts sustained to great old age, matrons like Susanna White and Elizabeth Hopkins and young women like Priscilla Mullins, Mary Chilton, Elizabeth Tilley and Constance Hopkins. In our imaginations to-day, few women correspond to the clinging, fainting figures portrayed by some of the painters of "The Departure," "The Embarkation," and "Landing of the Pilgrims." We may more readily believe that most of the women were upright and alert, peering anxiously but courageously into the future. . . . Although the women's strength of body and mind must have been sapped yet their fidelity stood well the test; when the *Mayflower* was to return to England

in April and the captain offered free passage to the women as well as to any men who wished to go, if the women would "cook and nurse such of the crew as were ill," not a man or a woman accepted the offer.

Intrepid in bravery and faith, the women did their part in making this lonely, impoverished settlement into a home. This required adjustments of many kinds. Few in number, the women represented distinctions in birth and breeding. In Leyden, for seven years, they had chosen their friends and there they formed a happy community, in spite of some poverty and more anxiety about the education and morals of their children, because of "the manifold temptations" of the Dutch city. . . . One of the first demands made upon them on the *Mayflower* and at Plymouth was for a democratic spirit—tolerance and patience, adaptability to varied natures.

The old joke that the "Pilgrim Mothers had to endure not alone *their* hardships but the Pilgrim Fathers also," has been overworked. These women would never have accepted pity as martyrs. They came to this new country with devotion to the men of their families and, in those days, such a call was supreme in a woman's life. . . . It seems paradoxical to speak of child life in this hard-pressed, serious-minded colony, but it was there and, doubtless, it was normal in its joyous and adventuresome impulses. With the exception of Wrestling Brewster and Oceanus Hopkins, all the eighteen children lived to ripe old age—a credit not alone to their hardy constitutions, but also to the care which the Plymouth women bestowed upon their households.

The "mother" of this group of matrons and maidens, who survived the winters of 1621-1622, was undoubtedly Mistress Mary Brewster. Wife of Elder, she shared his religious faith and zeal, and must have exercised a strong moral influence upon the women and children. Pastor John Robinson, in a letter to Governor Bradford, in 1623, refers to her "weake and decayed state of body," but she lived until April 17, 1627, according to records in "The Brewster Book." She was only fifty-seven years old at her death but, as Bradford said with tender appreciation, "her great and continuall labours with other crosses and

sorrows, hastened it before ye time." As Elder Brewster "could fight as well as he could pray," could build his own house and till his own land, so, we may believe, his wife was efficient in all domestic ways. When her strength failed, it is pleasant to think that she accepted graciously the loving assistance of the younger women to whom her presence must have seemed like a benediction.

The name of Mary Chilton is pleasant to the ear and imagination. Chilton Street and Chiltonville in Plymouth, the Chilton Club in Boston, keep alive memories of this girl who was, by persistent tradition, the first woman who stepped upon the rock of landing at Plymouth harbor. This tradition was given in writing, in 1773, by Ann Taylor, the grandchild of Mary Chilton and John Winslow (History of Plymouth; James Thatcher). Her father, James Chilton, sometimes with the Dutch spelling, Tgiltron, was a man of influence among the early leaders, but he died at Cape Cod, December, 1620. He came from Canterbury, England, to Holland. Evidently, Mary bore the same name as an older sister whose burial is recorded at St. Martin's, Canterbury, in 1593. . . . When the *Fortune* arrived in November, 1621, it brought Mary Chilton's future husband among its passengers—John Winslow, younger brother of Edward. Not later than 1627 they were married and lived at first in the central settlement and later in Plain Dealing, North Plymouth. They had ten children.

After the arrival of the *Ann*, in the summer of 1623, the women who came in the *Mayflower* had more companions of good breeding and efficiency. Elizabeth Warren, wife of Richard, came with her five daughters; it is safe to assume that the latter were attractive for, in a few years, all were well married. Two sons were born after Mistress Elizabeth arrived at Plymouth, Nathaniel and Joseph. For forty-five years she survived her husband. When she died at the age of ninety-three, leaving seventy-five great grand-children, the old Plymouth Colony Records paid her tribute: "Mistress Elizabeth Warren, having lived a Godly life came to her Grave as a Shock of corn full Ripe. She was honourably buried on the 24th of October (1673)."

WORLDWIDE ACTIVITIES OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

UNDER "Acts and Public Documents," the *International Review of Missions* begins in the October number a series of abstracts from the Versailles Treaty of Peace, of relevant paragraphs bearing on the work of Christian missions. These include not only those drawn at Versailles, but Acts and Treaties signed long ago which may be wholly or in part rescinded or annulled, as the Act of the Conference of Berlin of 1885 concerning the Congo. Treaties between China and the Western Powers (1851), between Great Britain and Portugal (1891).

The *Missionary Review of the World* in a "special edition" (May, 1920), gives "The Graves Lectures on Missions" in full. Dr. Hill writes from personal knowledge and contact, having spent one year in travel among the mission fields of the Far East. He shows the evolution of the missionary's activities and the field of operations, from the circumscribed work with the individual and the community to the larger, broader concept of national responsibility which the missionary now holds. "It is a work of far-reaching scope and of vital importance, intimately con-

cerning the future of the whole world." He asks, "Shall Japan be kept from becoming a second Germany?" "Shall China attain national consciousness and power?" "Shall India gain release from the fetters of caste?" "These are the national problems which Christianity is helping to solve. Mission work has grown too large and too exacting to be entrusted to unskilled workers. Foreign Missions long ago passed the experimental stage and became established as a regular business. In our business of furnishing light to a darkened world we might well emulate the Standard Oil Company in its expert methods. The Tobacco Trust slogan in China is: 'A cigarette in the mouth of every man, woman, and child.' The zeal of the Tobacco Trust could well be emulated by mission work: 'A Bible in the hands of every man, woman, and child.'"

The August *Review* gives valuable data concerning conditions in Korea. There is a "Forward Movement"—established under the Presbyterian General Assembly, with a three years' program definitely planned.

Rev. Frank Herron Smith, missionary at Seoul. (October *Review*, "Politics and Religion in Korea"), writes hopefully of Baron Saito's administration in Korea: that he is doing away with discrimination between the Japanese and Koreans, that he is speeding up an educational program, and that there shall be freedom in the use of the Korean language in teaching. The Koreans are not satisfied, they say; they "want not reforms, but independence."

Religious tendencies—Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Mormon—are considered editorially (in the August *Review*) in their relation to political activity in America. The relationship between church and state, the question of religious ideals as related to character, education, and daily life, and certain facts proved by results.

A "Moslem-Christian Debate" between a Christian missionary and a Moslem sheikh at the American Mission in Tanta, Egypt, is an evidence of toleration which may have very far-reaching results in the future.

The historical doctrines, the traditions, heritage, and beauties of "The Albanians—a Forgotten Race" (September *Review*), are portrayed by Mrs. Sevasti K. Dako. These "Sons of Eagle" have deep roots and we date our history as far back as 4000 B. C. Albania is the Illyricum to which St. Paul referred when he said: "Round about into Illyricum I have fully preached the Gospel of Christ."

The Albanians claim St. Paul as their first missionary and, further, that they were entirely converted to Christianity in the third and fourth centuries.

The East and the West (London, S. P. G.) opens its leading paper, "University Education in India," with this startling question: "Is missionary education a free gift or a bribe?" "There can be little doubt that at its inception such education was intended as a bribe." Sir Michael Sadler's Report of the Cambridge Commission suggested revolutionary changes as the educational policy which the Government of India appears anxious to carry out. It is definitely decided that Delhi will be the city in which a relatively larger amount of freedom can be secured than anywhere else in India. It will have its group of university buildings midway between the new Imperial capitol and the old Delhi of Shah Jahan.

"The Home Rule Movement in Indian Missions" is a part of the whole Home Rule Movement. This paper takes up the progress of one indigenous church, that of Lucknow in The United Provinces. The problem is this: How is the Church of India to be allowed freedom of development? "It is observed that the desire of considered Indian opinion was not separation from the societies and the European influence, but the assurance that Indian thought shall have full weight in guiding the policy which shall mold the future of the Indian Church."

In "A Problem from Nigeria," Rev. Edward Hayward (missionary along the Niger River since 1911) epitomizes the difficulties and hazards to which a country with an inrush of people, great natural resources, enormous commercial possibilities, and rapid development is subjected. "The demand for educated men is imperative." This great trade area—with its Hinterland—is estimated at over 300,000 square miles. There is a rapidly developing tin-mining industry, which carries all the attendant evils of mining camps with it. Mr. Hayward asks this pertinent question: "Can this sudden exposure to the fierce blaze of life as seen in a mining camp settlement be termed progress toward civilization? The problem is an urgent one. In the rapid opening up of the country, are these tribes to be left to their own devices?"

The Chinese Recorder of June (Shanghai, monthly) considers editorially the far-reaching power and significance of "The China Continuation Society."

A FRENCH ECONOMIST ON THE PROGRESS OF SOCIALISM

IN the *Economiste* for October 2nd, M. André Llesse writes with frankness as to Socialist agitation in France and the two great allied countries nearest her. He repeats the assertion that the Syndicalist heads of the labor unions and the more extreme advocates of "direct action" are equally revolutionists at heart, and by their own declaration; differing only in their choice of methods, not at all in their final goal. They both seek absolute communism under control of the handworkers. The extremists are really propagandists of Bolshevism, while the trade-union leaders are opportunists, willing to use even parliamentary methods for the present at least.

The drama, seen in Italy or England, is always the same, with change of scenery only. The general strike of the English miners was declared, in the last week of September, after two months' struggle against the Bolshevistic extremists, who finally overpowered the saner elements in the unions. Their aim is to create a general disturbance in all the industries that are dependent on "the black bread of industry." They have, furthermore, secured approval of the strike by all the trade-unions that control transportation by land or water.

The same elements started the general railroad strike in France last May. The French unions yielded reluctantly, knowing that failure was certain. There have been some very frank and heated exchanges between the two elements since, each laying the blame on the other. The Bolsheviks even stigmatize their slower brethren by the dreadful epithet "Bourgeois!" But immediate revolution, and gradual nationalization of all industry, are but two roads to the "Socialist State."

A strike for higher wages in August last led to a lockout in Milan, and this to the seizure and armed defense of the factories by the workers: an example followed in Turin, and then throughout Northern Italy. On August 29, a socialist convention in Florence passed frank resolutions of approval for Russian Sovietism, thus indicating complete surrender to the extremist agitators. However, much mutual recrimination has followed.

A larger section of the Italian Parliament desired at least a prompt renewal of political

and trade relations with Russia. It was never expected by the workmen that they could run the factories themselves, but the leaders did hope to force the government to take control at once. The actual outcome sought and measurably attained by the trade-unions is the creation of a form of workers' control, or control by boards on which they shall have large representation. So much the Prime Minister has not only favored, but, rather illegally, has actually ordained by decree. The details are not worked out.

The operatives hold out the promise of greatly increased production under the new conditions. Must they learn by bitter experience and failure? The writer believes the false teachings of their present leaders can be offset by direct vigorous instruction in the true laws of trade, chief of which he still puts the "inexorable law of supply and demand."

Against any such actual violence as this seizure of the mills it is the duty of government to use all necessary force. The overshadowing danger is the growth of an irresponsible power that feels itself in a position to threaten, to dictate to, and so already, practically if not actually, to replace the more or less democratic governments in the great West European states.

The strike as a political weapon, and any usurpation, by organized labor, of political power, must be abandoned. Collective bargaining, indeed, by workers' unions has of course become a necessity. But they should cooperate heartily with capital in such matters as the testing out and eager adoption of all labor-saving machinery, as was actually the case in English textile industries forty years ago. The labor exchanges, instead of being centers of mere unrest and agitation, should collect and dispense information as to the actual needs and prospects of the market; especially, of course, of the labor market.

It is a melancholy pleasure to record a closing remark, that these ideal conditions are said to be already measurably attained in one country only: the United States of North America. A more optimistic view by the French labor-union attitude is presented by Professor Cestre in this number of the REVIEW (page 604).

SWITZERLAND AND ITALY

A HIGHLY interesting and timely article on the friendly relations that should subsist between Italy and Switzerland, and the favorable results that may be expected from the League of Nations, appears in a late issue of the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Lausanne). Most of the article consists of a reproduction of the views of the Chief Magistrate of Switzerland, who kindly granted an interview to the writer, Prof. F. Cosentini-Frank, of the University of Turin.

The writer comments on the general confidence of Europe in the Swiss Republic, a country marked out to cement a political harmony more indispensable than ever at the present moment. That confidence was further impressively evidenced by choosing Geneva as the spot best fitted for the seat of the League of Nations, an international organization aimed by its promoters at subjecting arbitrary force to the control of law. It was extremely interesting, the writer remarks to gather from the President's own lips his views on the present political situation and the sentiments of his loyal people, who amid the vast conflagration succeeded, with the serenity of the strong, in maintaining a rigid impartiality.

President Motta accorded the interview a few hours after a conference with Premier Giolitti at the Berne Station. He impressed the writer as a statesman of broad views who combines a vast juridical knowledge with a keen political spirit and firm moral principles. The conversation naturally turned upon Premier Giolitti, the Lucerne conference, and the Italian-Swiss relations. M. Motta declared himself a sincere admirer of the Premier, whose age has not cooled his democratic daring or lessened his energies as a statesman.

Switzerland, said the President, follows with lively sympathy the policy of conciliation inaugurated by M. Nitti and pursued with equal firmness by M. Giolitti. The present crisis cannot be overcome without abandoning the warlike spirit and seeking a loyal coöperation between the victors and the vanquished, for the prosperity of the one depends upon the revival of the other. A nation like Italy which exhibits such political sagacity, such laudable industrial energy, cannot fail to reach a fair haven after winning that definitive peace, the need of which was confirmed anew in the Lucerne conference.



PRESIDENT GIUSEPPE MOTTA, OF SWITZERLAND

The example of Belgium, he continued, is inspiring and comforting. Its rapid revival is mainly due to two causes—the powerful initiative of the people and the sacred union of the different parties which persists after the advent of peace. Why cannot such a union be realized in Italy, too, where a judicious government seems inclined toward the boldest democratic reforms? Even in the darkest moments of the war he had abiding faith in the recovery of Italy and in the constancy of the friendly relations between her and Switzerland. In fact, their economic interests concur as well as their political ones. Genoa is one of the main Swiss outlets and it will remain so. Besides, Italy furnishes the Swiss with valuable aid through its legion of workers, to whom the most important public works of Switzerland are due. Those who picture the Italians addicted to *dolce far niente* should consider the work of these humble sons of the people, with a steadiness in labor equal to their modest mode of life, to the tenacity of their family affections.

That solidarity of interests which binds Switzerland to Italy should, moreover, extend to all nations; if we wish to make the nascent League of Nations a really living and abiding force. Switzerland means to

exert itself with ardor for the success of the new international juridical order. The Swiss, furthermore, have impassionately discussed in a public assembly the program of the League of Nations before giving their adhesion. The debate was spirited, elevated, and for two months the entire nation was perforce interested in the problem.

Switzerland is fortunate, M. Motta added, in having in its midst the seat of the League of Nations (which is also due to the support of Italy); a proof of the confidence in its serene atmosphere, inimical to all national egoism, favoring a cohesion between nations of different stocks such as prevails between the three nationalities of Switzerland living in a harmonious union. To accomplish its aims the League of Nations should have the highest degree of universality; that is, it should embrace not only Germany and Austria but also, at the proper time, Russia: the disposition of the two distinguished men who met at Lucerne inspires the hope of a speedy progress in that direction.

Up to this time the new institution, though not definitively organized, has in a quiet way accomplished much useful work. It has sought to reestablish international exchange; has given an impetus to the international régime of labor, and is now preparing the statutes of the International Court of Justice, which will be the real crowning point of the edifice. Will the League fulfil its grand mission? The fact that it has no definite coercive means at its disposal will, of course, lessen its practical efficacy; but it cannot be denied that, imperfect as it is, it constitutes an effective means of avoiding, retarding, preventing many conflicts. Now, prevention plays the same rôle as hygiene: good results depend wholly upon the people affected. The fate of the League of Nations will depend upon the moral development of humanity. If the spirit of solidarity is in the ascendant it will help to draw the nations closer, to modify the collisions, to form a common judicial conscience, to create along with a community of interests a community of sentiments and ideas.

THE WORLD COURT MOVEMENT

IN the *North American Review* for November, Mr. Chandler P. Anderson, who is a member of the Executive Council of the American Society of International Law, briefly reviews the work of the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907, regarding the proposed "Convention for the Establishment of a Court of Arbitral Justice." Negotiations for the establishment of this court were interrupted by the outbreak of the Great War in 1914.

Mr. Anderson is impressed by the fact that the recently published report of the select Committee of Jurists, which met at the Hague last summer on the invitation of the League of Nations to formulate a plan for a permanent court of international justice, shows that the plan formulated by that committee is based squarely upon the draft recommended by the Second Hague Conference, combined with the subsequent draft conventions of 1910 and 1914. He says:

This continuity of development is not surprising in view of the universal endorsement of the original plan, and the hopeless confusion which has resulted from the experiment of substituting expediency and politics for justice and equality as the controlling influences in a world organization.

It is also of especial interest to Americans to note that the commanding influence of Mr. Root has supported the project throughout and is chiefly responsible both for laying the foundations in the first place, and now for completing the plans for the organization of this proposed court. As Secretary of State in 1907 he directed the formulation of the original plan which was proposed by the American delegates at the Second Hague Conference, and as a member of the select committee of jurists at The Hague this summer he took the leading part in formulating the completed plan which that committee has now recommended unanimously for adoption.

The opening paragraph of the plan declares that a permanent Court of International Justice is thereby established in addition to the court of arbitration organized by the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, and to the special tribunals of arbitration to which the States are always at liberty to submit their differences for settlement. Recognition is thus given to the importance of maintaining both an arbitral and a judicial system for settling international controversies—the arbitral system to deal with questions of a political nature which require that form of diplomatic adjustment, and a real court of justice to deal with questions of a legal nature which can be decided by the application of legal principles.

A comparison of the new plan with the old will show that there is no substantial difference in their general structure and that, with the exception of the new features noted below, the new plan has the same resemblance to the old that a more highly cultivated growth has to a lowlier

ancestor. The only distinctly new features which have been introduced are the provisions defining the jurisdictional powers conferred upon the court, and the subordination of the court to the council and assembly of the League. It is to be organized by and open of right only to members of the League, and the judges are to be elected by the council and assembly, and are dependent upon those bodies for the fixing and payment of their salaries and expenses. Under the old plan all nations were entitled to participate in the organization of the court and the salaries of the judges were to be fixed in the agreement constituting the court and were to be paid, together with the expenses of the court, by the signatory Powers.

This subordination of the court to the League organization under the new plan was no doubt a matter of necessity, and not a matter of choice with the committee, for they were not empowered to amend the League Covenant; and until the powers of the council and assembly of the League are properly restricted, there will be no place for an independent judiciary as a coordinate branch in that organization.

Fortunately the nations themselves will not be hampered, as the committee has been, in dealing with this matter, and when the plan is referred to them for adoption they may, if they wish, make the few changes necessary to separate the court entirely from the control of the League and ensure its independence of political influences.

Assuming that the League of Nations, as an organization for preventing war, has proved to be a failure, Mr. Anderson reasons that any new organization for international coöperation to prevent war will be a natural development of the modes of procedure approved by past experience for eliminating the causes of war, and will be based on the acknowledged supremacy of the law in the settlement of disputes:

Such an organization, therefore, may be expected to have for its keystone a permanent court of international justice, governed by principles of law and equity on the basis of the jural equality of all nations, free from political intrigue and influences, having jurisdiction over all questions between nations where right and wrong are at issue, not excepting policies of aggression which may lead to war, and commanding the respect of mankind by its impartiality, integrity and wisdom.

Pursuant both to the old and new plans for this court, the existing Hague arbitration tribunals will not be superseded by it, but these two systems for the pacific settlement of international disputes, operating side by side, each in its own appropriate sphere, will together provide the ultimate authority to which as a last resort nations can submit all disputes which have not yielded to the resources of diplomacy, or to the harmonizing influences of mediation, conciliation, and the ascertainment of facts by commissions of inquiry, as hitherto practised and approved under the Hague Conventions, and the many other conventions entered into for these purposes, and now in force among enlightened nations.

Furthermore, in order to strengthen and extend the authority of a court of international justice, the process of codifying the law of nations must be provided for, and for that purpose, as well as to facilitate international coöperation and the improvement and expansion of the international practises of the past for eliminating the causes of war, and for the discussion of political questions, international conferences will be necessary. An association of all nations for these purposes would be useful, and perhaps it may be possible to utilize, with some changes, so much of the League organization as is appropriate for ensuring the assembling of regular international conferences at stated intervals, and of special conferences for special purposes, or in times of emergency when the peace of the world is threatened.

It may not yet be too late to regain the ground that has been lost through futile experimenting, and it is indeed significant that the old plan for the organization of the world for peace through the development and enforcement of law, relying for its sanction upon the appeal of right and justice to an informed public opinion, is again forcing itself upon the attention of the world, in spite of its rejection by the Peace Conference.

The *Nation* (New York) offers the following program of world organization:

1. The immediate calling of the Third Hague Conference by President Harding as soon as he takes office.

2. The inclusion within the call to the Conference of all nations, large and small, victors and vanquished alike.

3. The reference to the Conference of the task of codifying existing international law and of creating additional statutes, which should include:

- (a) The outlawing of war by the Conference, as demanded by Senator Harding during his campaign, by the abolition of war as a means of settling international disputes.

- (b) The creation of a genuine world court by empowering the Hague Court to pass upon all disputes relating to purely international matters, with power to summon all parties to a suit or controversy into court (obligatory jurisdiction).

- (c) The abolition of the doctrines of military necessity and retaliation.

- (d) Universal and immediate disarmament by all nations as the result of the above steps.

- (e) The remaking of the Treaty of Versailles and the treaties with the minor Central Powers so that absolute justice may be done.

- (f) The nationalization in each country (as promised by Lloyd George for England during the war) of every munition and weapon-making industry, including the building of warships of every kind.

The first duty of The Hague should be to *out-law war* in accordance with the demand first made by Senator Knox during the anti-treaty fight in the Senate and by Senator Harding during the campaign. They are both absolutely right. The use of war as a means for the settlement of international disputes must be abolished, and this is the time to do it.

THE SPANISH ARMY AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

ASSUMING the importance of the League of Nations as a military factor, a writer in *Nuestro Tiempo* (Madrid) has discussed in a series of articles the changes that he believes should be made in the organization of the Spanish army, in order to meet the demands of the new international situation created by the activities of the League. He argues for the employment of the army almost exclusively for defensive purposes, rather than in the suppression of internal disturbances. Social disorders in Spain, brought about by the Syndicalist movement, should, in his opinion, be settled by the people themselves, rather than by the army. He says, in part:

The army to-day is approaching a tremendous crisis. A large part of the intellectual elements of the country are endeavoring to divorce it from the nation, representing it as audaciously militaristic and accusing it of being the cause of disorder in Spain. Nothing can be more dangerous than this nascent division between the people and the military forces—as great a danger for the army as for the nation of which the army is an integral part. How can so great an evil be corrected and averted?

The army to-day is suffering from a spiritual weakness which has permeated governments and social struggles of the last few years, and which is due, among other causes, to the instability of the civil authorities and the limited coercive elements at their disposal. Already nobody (in Spain) speaks to the army of its primary object—*almost its only object*. In the press and in circulars are discussed the policies of the generals on social questions, in the solution of strikes, in the repression and prevention of conflicts against the public order: no one speaks of their inspection of the fitness of troops, of the maneuvers which they direct and their military theories—which is closely allied to the interests of national defense. This evil is greatest in frontier regions that are essentially industrial, and in them the military high command has been transformed (chiefly in recent years) into a civil government, with grave detriment to the instruction of troops and the army's military spirit.

In case of strikes among public-service employees every city should find some way of getting substitutes from among its own citizens, without calling on the national military force. The army, on the other hand, relieved of responsibility for dealing with local labor disturbances, should be able to concentrate its energies on national defense:

It is necessary to give the army an ideal of foreign policy—let the Parliament interest itself

in Morocco—giving it due importance and conceding to the League of Nations the military influence which, indubitably, it holds and will hold. We must turn the attention of the army to war, accustom it to wider horizons, looking always beyond the frontier. The life of the army is so joined to our international policies that if its duty does not appear clear and transparent the armed organizations cannot prosper. Parliamentary action can do much in this direction . . . its duty is to force the army and people to think of the necessity of defending the frontiers so as to assure the integrity of Spanish territory against any enemy by whatever force may be necessary.

Neither law nor decree, nor ministerial dictamen will accomplish anything if the army is not given a noble, ideal, elevated aspect . . . if the army does not know that the nation confides in its mission and offers adequate means for its fulfillment.

The men who accomplish most for militarism are those who ask that Morocco be abandoned, and that the army be reduced to half its present proportions. If the army is not to be used for colonial action what mission shall it have? That of defending the frontier? For that an arbitrary reduction (or increase) does not suffice. Either one ought to have the necessary force or the army is a parody that cannot fulfill its mission and a useless charge to the taxpayers. We maintain, with the most profound conviction, that an army that does not think of defending the frontier, that will not be received with public enthusiasm on account of its high mission abroad, will intervene fatally in interior politics and will indeed do so because it will be the center of politics.

An elaborate program of army reorganization is then presented, the purpose of which is to

- (1) Take the army out of politics (*i. e.*, settlement of industrial troubles).
- (2) Force labor to do its share in war, without extravagant pay or danger of strikes.
- (3) Prepare an elastic force constantly ready, yet not under arms at all times (a saving of time and money—similar to the recent American preparedness movement sponsored by Theodore Roosevelt and General Wood).
- (4) Train youths in secondary schools and higher institutions of learning, so they may advance to command rapidly and not waste time in the ranks.
- (5) Avoid labor's objection to the system by having labor leaders help in the planning of necessary changes.
- (6) Unify all classes in the interest of national defense.
- (7) Remove the laborer's mistrust of the army by taking it out of social settlements.

Besides these results, an Army of the League of Nations would be created and Spanish possessions guarded properly.

GENERAL OBREGON SKETCHED BY DR. DILLON

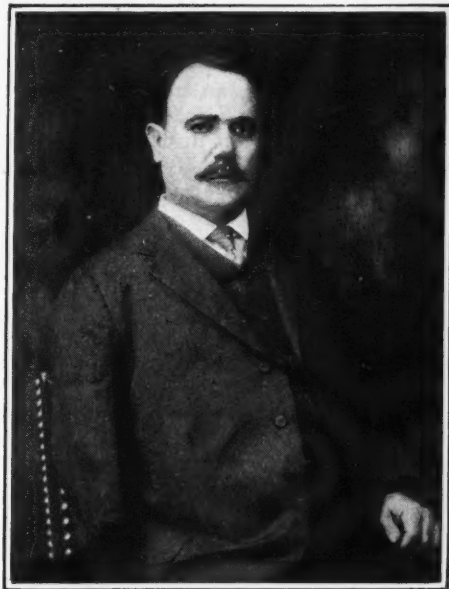
IT is a singular fact that the President of Mexico remains almost unknown in the United States, the one country beyond the borders of Mexico where his personality might be supposed to have penetrated. Few American writers for the press have succeeded in giving anything like a life-like presentation of Obregon as statesman or general. It remained for an Irishman, Dr. E. J. Dillon, to paint the first satisfactory pen portrait of this Mexican President, whose ancestry is supposed to have been in part Hibernian, the name Obregon being a Hispanicized form of O'Brien. Dr. Dillon's character sketch appears in the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia) for Nov. 6th.

Alvaro Obregon, who is now forty years of age, was born on a ranch in northern Mexico. Dr. Dillon describes his features, especially the eyes, as "expressive, caressing and undoubtedly Irish." Alvaro was the youngest of eighteen children, of whom ten are still living. His father died when he was a few months old. It appears that General Obregon's intellectual equipment is an inheritance from his mother, who is said to have come of a family distinguished for artistic talents, moral energy and physical strength.

Dr. Dillon spent some time in Obregon's native province (Sonora), and there became acquainted with more than thirty of his blood relations, from whom he learned a good deal of the family history. Among the stories told him of Obregon's mother's family—the Salidos—Dr. Dillon reproduces one of which her sister was the heroine:

One night the house of a neighbor was attacked and gutted by five bandits, who rode away with their booty. On learning what happened Obregon's aunt rose hastily, took a rifle, mounted her horse and chased the ruffians at high speed. Having come up with them after a long run, she shot one of them dead, wounded two others, took the remaining two prisoners and compelled them to carry the corpse of their comrade to the authorities, to whom she duly delivered them up. This deed still lives in the memory of the inhabitants.

For such education as young Obregon received he was chiefly indebted to three of his sisters, who were professional schoolmistresses, and to his brother, Don José, with whom Dr. Dillon is also personally acquainted. This brother was master of the public



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GENERAL ALVARO OBREGON
(President of Mexico)

school at Huatabampo. Dr. Dillon states that he has met several of Alvaro Obregon's school fellows, and that they all speak in the highest terms of his brother and of himself. His old friends and neighbors all seem to hold him in the highest esteem.

While admitting that the process of Mexican unification started by Obregon is only in its initial stage to-day, Dr. Dillon declares that this movement is real and widespread, and that he is convinced, from daily conversations with the President, that it will be reinforced by statesmanlike measures.

Not only has he sounded the death knell of the band of assassins and plunderers who kept the republic continually immersed in human gore, but he has roused from their secular torpor a large section of the people, awakening them to an incipient sense of their rights, providing them with the legal means of exercising these, exhorting them to respect the rights of others and releasing numerous forces which, one hopes, under his direction, may ultimately prove constructive.

Dr. Dillon has been personally acquainted with practically every European statesman of note, from Bismarck to M. Briand, not to speak of such non-European personages as

President Roosevelt, Li Hung Chang and Marquis Ito. He is especially proud of having discerned the real power of such men as Witte, of Russia; Venezelos, of Greece, before they became known to the world at large. Applying the same standards by which he judged those eminent men to General Obregon, he has no hesitation in affirming that "for political vision, high moral purpose, skill, and tact in dealing with men and controlling or modifying great emergencies, and also—a most important point—in appearing opportunely at the height of a national crisis, he is Mexico's strongest son, her man of destiny."

Dr. Dillon does not dwell in detail on Obregon's schemes of reconstruction, but he characterizes them as "comprehensive, statesmanlike, and so far as a foreigner can judge,

calculated to lift the Mexican state chariot from the Serbonian bog into which his predecessors plunged it, and place it on the road of progress. He has never yet set his hand to an enterprise without working it out to a satisfactory issue. None the less, it is not impossible that he should fail in this. If so, no other Mexican stands the slightest chance of succeeding." He records his conviction that no public man in Mexico is so well qualified to deal with questions of reconstruction as General Obregon, nor is there any other endowed either with equal moral courage to stand for what is right, or with equal capacity to discern for himself and to bring his countrymen to see where justice and fair play lie. This is rare praise coming from a man whose independent judgments of statesmen have rarely proved at fault.

LATVIA, THE NEW REPUBLIC

MORE than a year ago the world was informed that the Socialist Republic of Latvia had been proclaimed on the shores of the Baltic Sea, between two other new states, Esthonia and Lithuania. Writing in the *New Europe* for October 14th, Mr. Anthony Clyne says that the present social and economic condition of this recently-created state, consisting of part of the Baltic provinces of the old Russia, augurs a prosperous future, if protected from aggressions on the part of neighboring nations.

The boundaries of Latvia are subject to final decision by the Allies or the League of Nations, but they will enclose an area of something like 40,000 square miles (somewhat more than four-fifths of the State of New York). The capital city is Riga on the Gulf of that name, and it has also two other large ports on its coast line, Libau and Windau. The forests are the chief source of wealth for Latvia, constituting nearly one-third of its territory. The remainder of the land is nearly equally divided between pasture and arable land.

By far the larger part of the forest land is owned by the state, which is sure of a large and permanent revenue from it. There is every reason why the exploitation of the wealth in timber should proceed satisfactorily, for there are excellent ports and navigable rivers. The rivers that flow into Riga, Libau and Windau, with their tributaries, provide not less than 4180 miles of navigable waterway, cheap and convenient transport routes for felled timber, agricultural

produce, and other commodities. And the commercial future of the ports extends even beyond that of Latvia, for through them can be exported the timber of Lithuania and a considerable part of Russia. Scientific administration of the forests is needed, but such progress has already been made in the economic organization of the country that there is no reason to doubt the ability of the Letts to devise efficient methods. If afforestation is practised wisely, they have an almost inexhaustible source of national wealth, which will enrich not merely a land-owning class, but the whole community. Latvia is thoroughly Socialistic in the best sense of the term.

Next in area to the forests is the pasture and then the arable land. Agriculture is, of course, the principal industry of the people, the chief crops being wheat, oats, potatoes, and flax. Recent statistics are not available, but notwithstanding the damage of the war, the unrest, the depredations of the Germans and the Bolsheviks, agriculture is in a prosperous condition, and has a great future before it. Climate and soil are both favorable for cereal production, and the inhabitants make excellent farmers. There is now an excess of output over the demands of the country to permit of export, and this margin will steadily grow, bringing a larger volume of trade. Stock-rearing—cattle, sheep, and pigs—and dairy-farming have an equally bright future before them, though the quantity of livestock has been greatly depleted by the appropriations of the Germans and the Bolsheviks. Still even now the country can supply all its own needs, and within a few years it will be able to export dairy produce on a large scale. It is necessary to bear in mind that the agricultural system of Latvia will be organized on the basis of peasant proprietorship. Much of the land is directly owned by the State, while the rest will come into the possession of the actual cultivators. The fisheries of Latvia are also worthy of mention. They are a valuable

supplementary source of food. The other industries are of very minor importance, for Latvia does not possess any coal-fields or minerals. She is not, and can never become, an industrial country, forestry and agriculture being her staple sources of wealth. Nearly half the inhabitants are engaged in agricultural pursuits.

The population of Latvia is now about 1,780,000, or about two-thirds of the pre-war population. Three-fourths of the people are Letts, and the remainder consists of Russians, Jews, Germans and Poles, with a small sprinkling of Estonians and Lithuanians. The Letts are a distinct race from the Russians. They are not Slavs. They are said to be more industrious and more resolute than the Russians, and the average level of education is much higher than among the Russians. The chief religion is Roman Catholicism, but there is a complete religious toleration. The language of the Letts is an ancient tongue with close affinity to Sanscrit, but the people make much of Russian, German and the Baltic languages.

The people of Latvia have been engaged in war continuously since 1914. When they achieved their independence they had no



APPROXIMATE BOUNDARIES OF LATVIA

leaders with practical experience in administration. The supreme difficulty of the new government is shortage of funds. This hampers administration in every department. The country has suffered greatly from Bolshevik raids, and until very lately was technically at war with the Red Government. Although itself a Socialistic Republic, the Government of Latvia is absolutely opposed to Bolshevism. Practically, the new government is handicapped by the heritage of Russian bureaucracy and the unwisdom of inexperienced administrators. As soon as other systems become better understood, the Russian methods will in all probability be gradually superseded.

RIVALRY FOR THE WORLD'S SHIPPING

IN a survey of the shipping situation, which he contributes to the *Fortnightly Review* (London), Mr. Archibald Hurd points out that Great Britain is still suffering from the losses that she sustained during the war. Germany, of course, has lost almost all her mercantile marine, as well as her war navy. This is the penalty that she pays for having destroyed 15,000,000 tons of shipping, British, Allied and neutral. Great Britain, according to the latest figures of *Lloyd's Register*, possesses about 750,000 tons less shipping than she had six years ago, in spite of the activity of British shipyards and the amount of former enemy tonnage surrendered under the Peace Treaty. On the other hand, the world's gross tonnage is 8,501,000 tons greater than it was in June, 1914. The sea-going tonnage of the United States shows an increase of nearly 10,400,-

000 tons, or 500 per cent. over the figures for 1914. Japan has had an increase of 1,288,000 tons, France of 1,041,000 tons, and Italy 638,000 tons.

Conceding that the United States has taken the place of Germany as the outstanding rival of the British mercantile marine, Mr. Hurd says:

It is a mistake to jump to the conclusion that British interests must necessarily suffer owing to this change, though it is an arresting fact that the United States possesses to-day two and a half times as much sea-going tonnage as was under the German flag six years ago. This development raises, it is true, a number of problems to which time alone can furnish the solution, for merchant ships are not playthings nor emblems of power like men-of-war, but have to be operated at sea at a profit. In the meantime, it may be suggested that it must be a source of satisfaction that this country's chief competitor in the carrying trade of the world should be a

nation which shares not only our language, but many of our traditions, and in one with us in the pursuit of the great ideals which unite the peoples of the British Empire. We could certainly never regard Germany through the same spectacles as we wear when we look at the United States. Germany used her merchant fleet as a weapon for her own aggrandisement as a World Empire and to the injury of other peoples. The policy of concentration which marked her naval policy distinguished also her mercantile policy. At the outbreak of the war more than 60 per cent. of Germany's shipping had been combined in a group of ten lines, which worked with one another and sometimes with associated interests, all of them being regarded with something more than benevolence by the German Government. Germany adopted many expedients, some of them fair, but others grossly unfair, in order to support her mercantile marine.

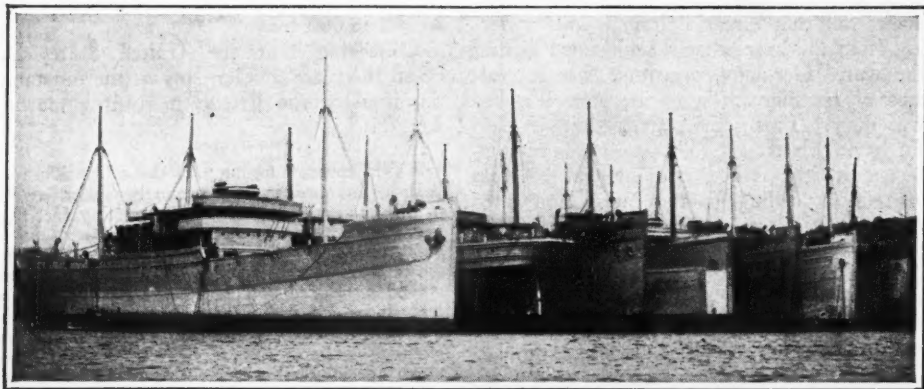
In order to emphasize the distinction between the growth of the German merchant fleet and that of the United States, Mr. Hurd relates the circumstances in which the American ships were built:

When the Allies were sorely pressed through the depredations by enemy submarines on their tonnage, as well as the tonnage of neutrals, it seemed as though the war might end in a German triumph, owing to the failure of the sea communications of the Allies, and particularly of this country, dependent upon the sea for most of its food as well as for the larger proportion of the raw materials required for the making of munitions. Down to the eve of the war the United States had never built more than 250,000 tons of sea-going shipping in any year, and the Germans regarded with scorn the suggestion that shipbuilding resources of so meagre a character as the Americans possessed could prove of much importance in making good the shipping losses which the Allies were suffering. In April, 1917, 870,359 tons of shipping—British, Allied and neutral—were sunk by submarine and mine attack; and in that month the United States intervened in the war.

In the record of human endeavor there has been no finer exhibition of organizing ability and sustained industry to meet a great emergency than the Americans exhibited when they realized the overwhelming peril which threatened the Allied cause, which they made their cause in the darkest hour of the struggle. The existing shipyards were extended and new shipyards sprang into existence; the engine-making resources of the United States were developed on a vast scale; centers for the intensive training of shipyard labor, as well as ship labor, were started. In a short time, although there were many unforeseen delays, ships were taking the water in numbers hitherto unknown in any country, and were being manned.

In the second quarter of 1918, owing largely to the American effort, the world's output of tonnage overtook the world's losses. It was then apparent that, owing to the American "hustle," in association with the measures adopted by the British Admiralty under the impulse of the First Sea Lord (Admiral of the Fleet Viscount Jellicoe) for countering the submarine campaign, scarcity of tonnage would not bring the war to a disastrous end. In the following November the Central Powers collapsed. As a result of her splendid effort to succor the Allies, the United States Government came into possession of a merchant fleet of upwards of 2000 ships of 1000 tons or over—some of them well built and some of them bearing the marks of their hurried construction—in providing which the American taxpayers had expended over \$3,000,000,000.

Mr. Hurd proceeds to quote from an American shipping authority, Mr. Winthrop L. Marvin, an account of the provisions of the act signed by President Wilson on June 5 last. Some of these provisions, in Mr. Hurd's opinion, are opposed to the British ideal of freedom of the seas and freedom of the ports. He is disposed to wait, however, until the new law has been tested by experience before expressing a final judgment. Evidently he does not feel that the British shipping industry has much to fear.



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SHIPS BUILT DURING THE WAR BY THE UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD AND NOW OFFERED FOR SALE, AT SEATTLE, WASH.

THE FUTURE OF THE COTTON INDUSTRY

A REMARKABLE survey of the industrial and commercial aspects of the world's cotton product is contributed to the November *Atlantic*, by Mr. Melvin T. Copeland.

This writer reminds us that the design and quality of cotton fabrics have been so greatly improved in recent years that these fabrics are now competing with some classes of silk goods, with woolens, and with worsteds, while, as table coverings, cotton fabrics have largely taken the place of linen. In the manufacture of hosiery and underwear it appears that the use of cotton has increased far more rapidly over a period of years than the use of wool and silk. Even the industrial field is a growing market for cotton fabrics, which are used in the manufacture of belting for factories, in typewriter ribbons, and in book binding, to mention only a few of the industrial uses of cotton. The consumption of fine cotton fabrics in automobile tire manufacturing has grown with astonishing rapidity. During the current year, it is estimated, from one-tenth to one-fifth of the world's entire production of long-staple, high-grade cotton will be consumed in this way.

Estimates of the per capita consumption of cotton cloth in each country for the pre-war years, 1910, 1913, inclusive, show that the United States used nineteen pounds of cotton cloth per capita each year, South America from two to eight pounds, Northern and Western Europe from six to eight pounds, Russia and Southeastern Europe from three to six pounds, Asia from two to three pounds, and Africa from less than one pound to two and one-half pounds.

A heavy demand for cotton fabrics in the future seems to be clearly indicated by the normal increase in population, the rising standards of living, the tendency to substitute the cotton for other textiles, the utilization of cotton fabrics for industrial purposes, and the probable opening of undeveloped countries to industry and commerce. Taking a long look ahead, Mr. Copeland thinks it possible that the world demand for cotton goods may be doubled during the next generation, provided adequate supplies of the merchandise are available at reasonable prices.

In considering whether the supply can be made to meet the demand, Mr. Copeland takes into account four significant factors:

equipment, labor, management, and raw material. Although the facilities for manufacturing cotton mill machinery are limited, Mr. Copeland thinks it reasonable to anticipate that in the long run an adequate supply of textile machinery can be provided.

As to labor, although shorter hours have tended to reduce output, and difficulty may soon be experienced in attracting workers to the cotton mills, there are, on the other hand, opportunities for economizing in the use of labor. One such opportunity is the substitution of automatic looms for plain looms. One weaver can tend twenty or more automatic looms, whereas in the United States one weaver on plain looms ordinarily tends from six to ten machines.

The mills themselves provide training schools for managers, and textile schools supply men who, with experience, may become overseers or department foremen and managers. It seems reasonable to expect that necessary recruits will appear when needed.

According to Mr. Copeland, the supply of raw material is the real stumbling block. Just where or how an adequate quantity of raw cotton for many new spindles is to be secured, is not now evident. We quote at length Mr. Copeland's comment on American cotton production:

The United States, during recent years, has furnished slightly more than sixty per cent. of the world's supply of raw cotton. Upland cotton, with fibers varying from three-fourths of an inch to one and one-eighth inches in length, constitutes the bulk of the American crop. This is the mainstay of the cotton industry of the world at the present time, as it has been for a century. In the United States the highest quality of cotton also is produced. This is Sea Island cotton, with fibers varying from one and one-half to more than two inches in length. From these long fibers the finest yarn can be spun; for the spinning process in essentials is a twisting together of the fibers with only sufficient overlap to give strength to the thread. The Sea Island crop, though high in value, is small in quantity, and the output is not increasing. Other kinds of long-staple cotton, intermediate between Upland cotton and Sea Island cotton, are produced in the United States in substantial quantities; but the supply is far from adequate. There are grounds for grave apprehension, moreover, regarding the prospects of a permanent increase in the production of Upland cotton in this country.

The obstacles to an increase in the production of cotton of all sorts in the United States are the boll-weevil, lack of labor, and the competition of other agricultural crops.

Despite the efforts of the Federal Government, through the Department of Agriculture, and of various other agencies seeking to check the rav-

ages of the boll-weevil, the pest continues to spread. It ruins millions of pounds of cotton each year. In addition to this direct loss caused by the boll-weevil, its depredations discourage farmers from planting cotton in the districts where it is most active. Starting on a small scale in Texas, near the Mexican border, in 1892, the boll-weevil has migrated steadily eastward and northward until it has infested the entire cotton belt, with the exception of portions of Tennessee, North Carolina, and South Carolina. These districts are not likely to remain immune. Unless some means be discovered for getting rid of the boll-weevil, it will tend directly and indirectly to lessen the quantity of raw cotton that otherwise would be grown each year in the United States.

The supply of labor available for the cotton-fields in this country does not appear to be sufficient for the future. For several years there has been a shortage in the supply of agricultural labor in the South as well as in other districts. The high wages and other attractions of industrial centers have drawn workers away from the rural districts. In the South, furthermore, the labor shortage seems to be intensified by the racial problem and by the difficulty of stimulating regularity in industry among the negroes.

The cotton crop is one that requires a highly unbalanced supply of labor. Labor-saving machinery has been applied far less extensively in picking cotton than in harvesting the other staple crops. Two to three times as much labor is required, for example, to grow and pick an acre of cotton as to cultivate and harvest an acre of corn. The chief difference comes during the picking season. In order to keep the fiber free from leaves and dirt, and to make sure that all the ripe cotton on the plant is picked without injuring the immature bolls, cotton is picked mainly by hand. For three and one-half months each season the cotton farmer needs a much greater

supply of labor than during the remainder of the year. This seasonal peak is not easily met. A universally successful machine, with practically human intelligence, for picking cotton, would be a godsend to the South and to the cotton-manufacturing industry of the world.

If, as now seems probable, raw cotton production should expand faster in other countries than in our own Southern States, Mr. Copeland would not look upon this as an altogether undesirable outcome.

Except for the rather superficial gratification that comes from mere bigness, there is little gain to the people of the United States in having this country produce sixty per cent. of the world's supply of raw cotton, if other crops are equally profitable to the farmers. Whatever the size of the crop, this country's position in the raw-cotton trade is not in any way monopolistic; the growing and marketing of cotton are thoroughly competitive, and doubtless they will remain competitive. Instead of gaining an advantage from our preponderant share in the production of raw cotton, both the American farmers and the American manufacturers tend to suffer therefrom. The trade is at the mercy of weather conditions that have similar effects, good or bad, throughout the entire growing district each season. If cotton-growing could be heavily, but not too suddenly, increased in other parts of the world, where the weather conditions would be likely to differ each season from those in this country, the result would be greater stability in prices; there would be less likelihood of a glut or a famine in the world's markets in any one year. With broader producing markets, fluctuations in prices would tend to be less severe, and the degree of certainty as to prices is nearly as important to the farmer and to the manufacturer as the absolute amount per pound to be received or paid.

LIMA AND THE PERUVIAN CENTENNIAL

LIMA, the old viceroy city, capital of the Republic of Peru, to-day presents two striking aspects—on the one hand it is bedecking itself for the coming centennial, when Peru will celebrate its first hundred years of political sovereignty; and on the other it presents a new city in the making, with all the débris caused thereby. At every step one encounters the demolition of the old to make way for the new, and alongside of the fragile adobe huts and light frame buildings of past times may now be seen cement molds and huge steel beams. According to *Variedades*, a weekly illustrated review of Lima, "the progressive tendency, ever greater and on a larger scale, has invaded time-respected districts and is advancing, without

clemency and without vacillation, to make of Lima, the old, humble and plain town, an aristocratic, proud, and monumental metropolis."

Notwithstanding the present unfavorable time, considering the proximity of the centennial, the new great highways of the city, laid out some years ago, are now being constructed with zeal.

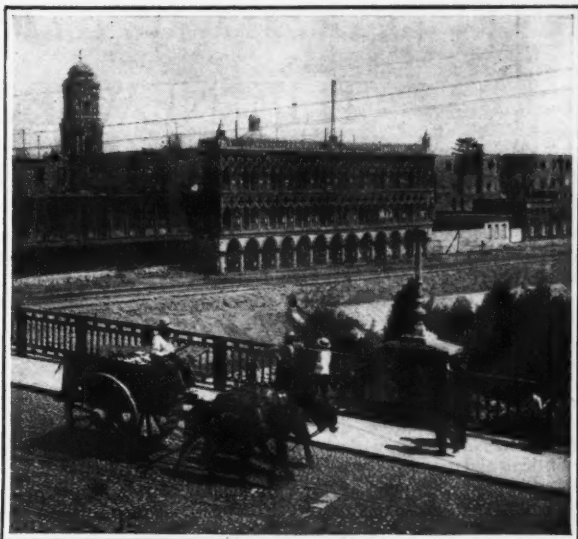
With the laying out and construction of new streets and the demolition of old buildings to make way for the new, Lima is to-day, on the eve of her celebration, facing another great local problem—that of housing dispossessed families of the poorer class. On account of not being able to pay the increased rentals, demanded for the new construction,

these families have had to move to the outskirts of the city, thereby taking them away from their centers of employment. This problem, while it was to be expected in the development of the city, is becoming so acute that it is suggested that either the federal or municipal government should take cognizance of it.

In its article on the subject *Variedades* laments the present condition of the city, and reproduces several photographs showing improvements which will not be completed in time for the centennial. In conclusion, the magazine has this to say:

Without further useless delay and whether or not there is a memorable date to celebrate, we should decisively collaborate for the inauguration of a new era of local progress, for in addition to celebrating for our country we need to celebrate for development in every sense.

Let us trust that the transitory stage of evolu-



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tion may pass, and later we shall proudly admire a presentable, modern metropolis, beautified with magnificent monuments, to be imposingly raised in memory of the past.

BOLIVIA AND GERMAN MILITARY INSTRUCTION

AN Argentine periodical, *El Mercurio* (Buenos Aires), informed its readers recently that a telegram from La Paz announces that the French minister to Bolivia has protested the employment, by the Bolivian Government, of the German General Hans Kundt.

The protest is clearly based on Article 179 of the Treaty of Versailles (confirmed by the Government of Bolivia), which prohibits Germany from sending military missions of any sort to any country or permitting its nationals to enlist in foreign armies. The signatories to the treaty also agreed not to employ Germans in any capacity in land, sea, or aerial services.

After quoting Article 179, *El Mercurio* continues: As Bolivia confirmed the Treaty of Versailles it cannot to-day employ any German citizens to train any portion of its army, sea, or aerial forces. Undoubtedly France will make Bolivia see that its contract with General Kundt is a flagrant violation of the pact.

The case is different in countries not signing the Versailles Pact (as Chile). They can contract for German military instructors, but the Government of Germany cannot send military missions nor give permission to any German citizen to accept such a charge in any foreign country. The Treaty of Versailles doubly prohibits Germany in the Bolivian case. In short, any country employing German military instructors does so knowing that such men are technically and actually breaking the laws of Germany and that such acts may precipitate international troubles.

The German military instructors to Chile were not only authorized but carefully chosen by the German Government—they were true representatives of the German War Ministry when they were appointed.

If to-day German officers or ex-officers wish to train South American armies we must be prepared for a strong protest to the German Government against such law-breakers—the result of such a policy by any nation, if unprotested and not stopped, is easy to see.

THE NEW BOOKS

THE PROMISE OF WORLD PEACE

The Peace Tangle. By John F. Bass. Macmillan. 345 pp.

Mr. Bass holds a preëminent place among American correspondents who have had great experience in Europe before the war, during that period, and ever since. His present volume is an up-to-date account of conditions in all the different European countries from the English Channel to Turkey. It is the best single book that has been written showing how the peace treaty has actually worked in its application to political and economic conditions. Mr. Bass has long been famed for his thorough information and his accurate judgment. He has rendered an invaluable service to all candid students of the question, what part America is to take in European and world affairs henceforth.

The Making of the Reparation and Economic Sections of the Treaty. By Bernard M. Baruch. Harper & Brothers. 353 pp.

Mr. Baruch, of New York, is one of the most striking figures among the business men of high ability and undoubted patriotism who gave their services to the Government during the war period. For a time he was Chairman of the War Industries Board at Washington. He was in Paris through the peacemaking period as an economic adviser to our peace delegation; and he was made head of the American group who collaborated in drafting the sections of the great treaty dealing with reparation to be made by Germany, and also in framing the economic sections of the treaty. Mr. Baruch's book is particularly timely and valuable because it brings before the reader in a distinct way the financial and business phases of the peacemaking problems, many of which are already under fresh discussion because it seems necessary to modify them. Mr. Baruch's chapters are brief and direct, while also persuasive to the point of carrying conviction. The atmosphere in which the work was done is well reproduced. The difficulties under which the special groups had outlined reparation and economic reconstruction are also made clear. Considerably more than half of the space of the book is taken up with appendices that are of the highest value for reference purposes. These include the reparation clauses and the economic clauses of the treaty in full, with certain brief annotations. Following them are the arguments of Mr. Dulles (American), Mr. Hughes (Austrian), and Mr. Klotz (French), on the principles of reparation. This volume will be a necessary part of every public and private library that includes the essential books relating to the making of peace. Everything in it serves to show how reasonable was the position of the American members of the Reparation and Economic Commissions upon all the larger phases of controversy.

The New World Order. By Frederick Charles Hicks. Doubleday, Page & Co. 496 pp.

The law librarian of Columbia University gives in this volume a lucid and scholarly exposition of the working principles of the League of Nations in their relation to international organization, international law and international coöperation. Although the book is free from special pleading of any kind, Mr. Hicks makes no attempt to disguise his conviction that the League of Nations should be supported, and one of the reasons for his conclusion is that it emphasizes the necessity for coöperation among sovereign states. Mr. Hicks looks upon such coöperation as an end in itself, and on that ground he advocates the League, believing that such coöperation will tend to decrease the number of disputes likely to lead to international ruptures. For the student and man of affairs the documents contained in the appendix are of special value. One of these is an abridged reprint of the Treaty of Versailles, giving in full only those sections with which the League is concerned. Among the other international documents are two, relating to the Russo-French alliance, which are now published for the first time in an American book.

The Passing of the Old Order in Europe. By Gregory Zilboorg. Thomas Seltzer. 287 pp.

The author of this book was secretary to the Ministry of Labor under the Kerensky government in Russia. He argues that the Russian Revolution resulted from what he calls a policy of Bolshevism pursued by the ruling classes of Europe for the past seventy years. By this he means that during all that time the individual was suppressed in the interests of those in authority, just as in the actual Bolshevism of to-day there is a suppression of individuality. The writer's analysis of the factors that have brought about the overthrow of the old order in Europe is by no means confined in its scope to Russian conditions, but takes into account the movement of events throughout the modern world.

Political Systems in Transition. By Charles G. Fenwick. The Century Company. 322 pp.

In this book the author traces the changes brought about by the World War in the political institutions of the great nations, and especially in those of the United States. In so doing he exhibits by comparison and contrast the relative strength and weakness of the several political systems and the probable lines of future reconstruction. The book is particularly important in so far as it answers the questions frequently asked since the war, How completely do democratic governments maintain their efficiency under the stress of war, and How do they adapt themselves to war's demands?

BIOGRAPHY: LETTERS: RECOLLECTIONS

Theodore Roosevelt and His Time. By Joseph Bucklin Bishop. Scribners. Two volumes. 1026 pp.

In a subsequent number of this REVIEW, we shall treat in a much more extended way the admirable volumes which Mr. Bishop has prepared. This notice is preliminary and does not deal with the subject matter of the chapters. The late Theodore Roosevelt had not only wished that an authentic history of his public career might be written by Joseph B. Bishop, but he had turned over to Mr. Bishop his correspondence and other materials, and during the months before his death he had conferred frequently with his biographer by way of advice and direction and further information. Mr. Bishop had occupied a high place as a scholarly journalist intimately acquainted with American politics and governmental affairs. He had been closely associated with Theodore Roosevelt as a friend and supporter through a long period. The two volumes serve the double purpose of a biography of Roosevelt and a history of Roosevelt's period. The chapters include quotations from hundreds of letters, and they deal frankly with many matters which involved controversy at the time. Many books of a special kind, dealing with one phase or another of Mr. Roosevelt's personal and public career, will come from other pens; but Mr. Bishop's volumes will occupy the same central and essential place in the story of Roosevelt as President and public character that must always be held by the Nicolay-Hay Life of Abraham Lincoln. To have brought the material within the present compass required editorial judgment and skill of the highest order. There will doubtless come a time in the future when there will be a demand for the publication of additional Roosevelt letters; but these two volumes, as they stand, will serve not only for the present time but for future generations.

The Happy Hunting-Grounds. By Kermit Roosevelt. Charles Scribner's Sons. 182 pp. Ill.

Kermit Roosevelt accompanied his father on all the more important hunting trips of the last decade of his life. He went with him to Africa and South America, and was his companion in various lesser expeditions in the United States. This book admits the public to some of the secrets of that companionship. It is full of the Rooseveltian spirit as it was manifested on the plains and in the depths of the forests in so many adventurous journeys, and it gives pleasing pictures of various personalities who in one way or another became associated with the Colonel in his different hunting enterprises. The concluding chapter is a well-deserved tribute to Captain Seth Bullock, of South Dakota, one of the last of the frontiersmen, and a life-long friend of the elder Roosevelt.

John Burroughs, Boy and Man. By Clara Barrus. Doubleday Page & Co. 385 pp. Ill.

The American public of this generation is in no danger of being surfeited with stories from the life of John Burroughs. Perhaps no living American author so keenly interests readers of

all ages and conditions of life. Dr. Barrus, who is Mr. Burroughs' secretary and friend, tells us that this book was originally intended as a boy's life of John Burroughs. Its pages bear internal evidence of this design, and for that reason are the more entertaining. Grown-ups of both sexes will find in this simple record of "John Burroughs, Boy and Man" a great deal by way of biographical incident that has not before appeared in print. The personality of the man whom Theodore Roosevelt delighted to call "Oom John" is vividly projected in this modest volume.

Crowding Memories. By Mrs. Thomas Bailey Aldrich. Houghton Mifflin Company. 294 pp. Ill.

The reader will naturally turn to this volume, from the pen of Mrs. Aldrich, for recollections of her distinguished husband, one of the most gifted and popular American authors of the latter nineteenth century. He will not be disappointed in the portraiture of Thomas Bailey Aldrich, which forms so large a part of "Crowding Memories." But intertwined with these reminiscences of Aldrich himself, and supplementing them, are scores of fresh anecdotes of such men as Edwin Booth, Henry Adams, William Dean Howells, Henry W. Longfellow, Charles Dickens and Mark Twain. Throughout her life Mrs. Aldrich has been on terms of intimate friendship with many of the most eminent American and British men of letters. Her personal recollections could not fail to be interesting to the general public.

Margaret Fuller: a Psychological Biography. By Katharine Anthony. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 223 pp.

Although she died seventy years ago, the name of Margaret Fuller is still associated with the pioneer stages of the American movement for woman's emancipation. She has been described—possibly not with strict accuracy—as our first professional woman of letters, and the first American feminist. She was, at any rate, in the very forefront of the "radical" movements of her time. Numbered with the Massachusetts "Transcendentalists," she was for a time a member of the New York *Tribune* staff under Horace Greeley, and after marriage and residence of several years in Italy was drowned within sight of the Long Island shore on her return voyage to the United States. Miss Anthony gives us in this little volume a psychological study of her subject, rather than a chronological record.

The Making of Herbert Hoover. By Rose Wilder Lane. The Century Company. 356 pp.

Before he was forty-five Herbert Hoover had been hailed as among the world's most famous citizens. Governments were ready to grant him autocratic powers, and he shared with President Wilson and General Pershing an admiration such as Europe had never before bestowed on men of American birth. The full story of Hoover's rise from obscurity to worldwide fame is told in this book. Mrs. Lane obtained access to letters and diaries that contain the intimate facts of the record,

and in this she was materially assisted by Mr. Charles K. Field, a classmate of Mr. Hoover at Stanford University, who has known Mr. Hoover for thirty years.

Empress Eugénie in Exile. By Agnes Carey. The Century Company. 368 pp. Ill.

This book is made up from the journal and letters, written years ago by a young woman who was a member of Empress Eugénie's household at Farnborough, England. The book was held for publication until after the death of the Empress. It gives the chief facts of Eugénie's life, and her own account of events and descriptions of men and women, often in her own words. The volume contains much material not elsewhere duplicated.

George Tyrrell's Letters. Edited by M. D. Petre. E. P. Dutton & Company. 301 pp. Illustrated.

A volume of correspondence revealing the personality of one of the leaders in the Modernist movement in the Roman Catholic Church. The letters have been edited by the author of "The Life of Father Tyrrell."

London Days. By Arthur Warren. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 287 pp.

In the latter years of the nineteenth century Mr. Arthur Warren was London correspondent of the Boston *Herald*, and in that capacity acquired a wide acquaintance among the English celebrities of the day. This volume gives his reminiscences of Tennyson, Gladstone, Whistler, Lord Kelvin, Sir Henry Irving, Henry M. Stanley, George Meredith, Charles Stewart Parnell and Madame Patti.

Day Before Yesterday: 1836-1918. By Maitland Armstrong. Charles Scribner's Sons, 333 pp.

The late Maitland Armstrong was an American who spent much of his life abroad. He became a painter, and in later years was eminent in stained-glass design and manufacture. Mr. Armstrong served as United States Consul General to Italy, and was American Commissioner of Fine Arts at the Paris Exposition of 1878. Meeting many interesting men and women, and keeping notebooks of his conversations with them, he was able before the close of his long life (he died in 1918) to complete an entertaining volume of reminiscences.

Life of Sir Stanley Maude. By Major-General Sir C. E. Callwell. Houghton Mifflin Company. 360 pp. Ill.

This official biography of the conqueror of Bagdad, who died during the fourth year of the war, was written by the British Director of Military Operations at the War Office. General Maude was one of the small group of commanders brought to the front by the war who ap-

pealed to the popular imagination. Fortunately, his biographer is one of the leading military writers of our time. The book is inspiring, not merely as the life of a great soldier, but as a contribution to our knowledge of British military operations in Mesopotamia.

The Life and Work of Sir William Van Horne. By Walter Vaughan. The Century Company. 388 pp. Ill.

Born in Illinois of American and Dutch descent, and rising by his own efforts from comparative poverty to the first rank among railroad builders, the late Sir William Van Horne became in the later years of his life one of the best-known Canadians of his generation. It was as builder of the Canadian Pacific Railroad that he won a worldwide reputation, and after that his work for the development of railroad transportation in Cuba brought commerce and prosperity to the interior of that island. This is the authorized biography of a man whose personality had come to be an international possession.

Memories. By Lord Redesdale. E. P. Dutton & Company. Vol. I. 396 pp. Ill. Vol. II. 816 pp. Ill.

Lord Redesdale's career has no parallel in the United States. He served in England's Foreign Office for a period of forty years, acting as the British representative in Russia, China and Japan, and coming in contact during that service with hundreds of interesting personages. These two volumes of reminiscences give flash-light pictures of a great number of historic events. Lord Redesdale tells his story as a man of the world, a musician and a sportsman, as well as a diplomat.

My Life and Friends: A Psychologist's Memories. By James Sully. E. P. Dutton & Company. 344 pp. Ill.

This bit of autobiography impresses one at once with the author's individuality. He repeatedly reveals himself as the kind of man one would not expect a psychologist to be. The friendships that he seems to prize most highly were not with men of his own profession, but with poets, artists, novelists and philosophers. He made an exception, however, of the American psychologist, William James, to whom he devotes a chapter.

Letters to a Niece and Prayer to the Virgin of Chartres. By Henry Adams. With a Niece's Memories by Mabel La Farge. Houghton Mifflin Company. 133 pp.

The many readers of "The Education of Henry Adams" will be delighted to get the glimpses of home life and friendships afforded in his letters to Mrs. La Farge. Some of these letters were written from London and Paris, and others during a visit to the South Seas with John La Farge.

REMINISCENT OF THE GREAT WAR

Gallipoli Diary. By General Sir Ian Hamilton. George H. Doran Company. Vol. I. 387 pp. Ill. Vol. II. 349 pp. Ill.

From the British standpoint perhaps the most painful episode of the war was the failure of the Gallipoli expedition in 1915. The diary kept by the commander-in-chief of the expedition, Sir Ian Hamilton, contains a frank and straightforward record of the whole affair, such as might be expected from the pen of one of the ablest of England's generals, but the book has other claims upon the public interest. In these volumes General Hamilton discloses himself as a writer of brilliant imagination—a man of artistic instincts. For the general public the greatest charm of his diary lies in its characterizations of great leaders like Kitchener and Churchill, and its sketches of the principal officers of the expedition. At the same time military experts will find in its pages much new and valuable material by way of criticism of war policy and explanation of the ill-fated campaign in which it was the writer's fate to take so important a part.

The History of the A. E. F. By Shipley Thomas. George H. Doran Company. 539 pp. Illustrated.

The authorized account of the training and operations of the American Army in France. Captain Thomas seems never to have lacked assistance from the general officers of the A. E. F., and all available documentary material was placed at his disposal. It is the opinion of those most competent to judge that his story of America's participation in the war is as accurate and complete as it can be made at this time. One exceedingly useful feature of the book is the great number of maps inserted in the text. A concluding chapter consists of a guide to the battlefield, with a summary of the battles prepared for the use of visitors to France.

The Army of 1918. By Colonel Robert R. McCormick. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 276 pp.

Colonel McCormick has served at different times as an officer in the regular army, of the National Guard and of the Reserve. As a member of General Pershing's staff he had access to the best sources of information. His book combines personal narrative with military criticism and suggestions. It should be read by everyone who is interested in our future military policy. Colonel McCormick served with the First Division as a Major of Artillery until after the Battle of Cantigny. He was promoted to the rank of Colonel in recognition of his services in the field.

New England and France: 1917-1919. By Emerson Gifford Taylor. Houghton Mifflin Company. 324 pp. Ill.

This history of the Twenty-sixth Division U. S. A. covers the work of the New England troops in the Great War. Major Taylor, the official historian of the so-called "Yankee Division," delayed completion of his narrative for nearly two years after the close of operations, in order to secure complete and accurate data.

The American Engineers in France. By William Barclay Parsons. D. Appleton and Company. 429 pp.

Fragmentary and imperfect accounts of the work of the American engineer troops in France were received and read with great interest in this country during the war. Comparatively little information has since been given out concerning this important service. Some of the published accounts have been far from accurate. We now have from the hand of Colonel Parsons of the Eleventh U. S. Engineers a definitive history of the work done in France by the American engineers in the construction of ports, the building and operation of railroads, the handling of water supply, and the preparation of camouflage and maps and other necessary auxiliaries of warfare. Colonel Parsons makes it clear that the American engineers in France did not follow prescribed and routine lines of development, but made distinctive contributions of their own to the winning of the war. It will not be forgotten that among the first United States soldiers to be killed in battle in Europe were officers and men of the Eleventh Engineers.

The Canadians in France: 1915-1918. By Captain Harwood Steele. E. P. Dutton & Company. 364 pp.

A detailed history of the operations of the Canadian Army Corps, consisting of four divisions and "corps troops." In writing this account Captain Steele is describing in the main events that occurred under his own observation in 1915 to the close of the war in 1918. It was a story of which Canadians will never cease to be proud.

Little History of the Great War. By Henry Vast. Henry Holt and Company. 262 pp. Ill.

A wonderfully compact story of the war, composed with characteristic French clarity. The original has been for two years generally accepted in France as the standard book in its field. The author is honorary examiner for admission to St.-Cyr, the French West Point. The translation was made by Dr. Raymond Weeks, Professor of French at Columbia University.

The Story of the American Red Cross in Italy. By Charles M. Bakewell. Macmillan. 253 pp. Ill.

The devoted service of American Red Cross workers in Italy is well described in this volume by Professor Bakewell. Americans who provided the funds which made this service possible are entitled to know how their money was spent. Professor Bakewell's book gives us the story in detail.

Secrets of Crewe House. By Sir Campbell Stuart. Hodder & Stoughton. 240 pp. Ill.

An account of British efforts at propaganda in enemy countries during the year 1918. Naturally it was impossible to tell everything about these activities without exposing to reprisals many who

did valuable and dangerous service. Enough can be told, however, to show that this branch of service was full of dramatic incidents from the beginning of the war to the end.

An English Wife in Berlin. By Evelyn, Princess Blücher. E. P. Dutton & Co. 336 pp.

The memoirs of an English woman who, as the wife of a German Prince, lived in Berlin through-

out the war and the social revolution of 1918. This volume gives a view of developments in German politics and social life during the war that is wholly novel to readers in the English-speaking world. Among the personal experiences of Princess Blücher related in this book are her acquaintance with Sir Roger Casement just before his mad attempt to land on the Irish coast and her part in sending a peace message to England in 1916.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

A Tour of America's National Parks. By Henry Ottridge Reik. E. P. Dutton & Company. 209 pp. Ill.

After the outbreak of the Great War had made impossible for thousands of Americans the annual exodus to Europe it suddenly dawned upon them that here in our own country are opportunities for scenic enjoyment quite as great as those in Europe. The series of National Parks provided by the Government for the benefit of all the people is now visited yearly by hundreds of thousands of tourists, many of whom travel in their own motor cars. Colonel Reik's book brings out the distinctive features of the greatest of these Western parks. He shows that no two of them are alike, that each is worth seeing on its own account. While he has not attempted to write a guide book in the ordinary sense of the term, his chapters contain much of the kind of information that is sought in guide books and that will be found indispensable to anyone attempting a tour of the parks for the first time.

Glimpses of South America. By F. A. Sherwood. The Century Company. 406 pp. Ill.

As a result of two trips to those parts of South America that are commonly visited by travelers from the United States, Mr. Sherwood accumulated many notes and photographs, and these are embodied in the present volume. Mr. Sherwood's characterizations of people and places are terse

and vivid, and he makes no pretensions to an elaborate study of any of the matters of which he treats. What he has to say is intended to be helpful to the ordinary traveler, following the beaten track around South America. There is abundant variety, however, in the experiences of such a traveler, as set forth by Mr. Sherwood.

In the Tracks of the Trades. By Lewis R. Freeman. Dodd, Mead & Company. 380 pp. Ill.

The fourteen thousand mile yachting cruise to the South Seas, described by Mr. Freeman in this volume, is believed to have been the most successful voyage of its kind ever completed by Americans. Now that the Panama Canal has been opened, it is likely that similar cruises may be undertaken from the Atlantic Coast. Mr. Freeman visited the Hawaiiis, Marquises, The Society Islands, Samoa and the Fijis. His descriptions of the natives and the islands are most entertaining.

The Spell of Brittany. By Ange M. Mosher. With an introduction by Anatole Le Braz. Duffield and Company. 212 pp. Ill.

A sympathetic account of the Bretons, their folk-lore and their land, from the pen of an American woman who lived among them for years and was, in fact, regarded as a Bretonne by adoption. An introduction to the volume is supplied by the French author, Anatole Le Braz.

OTHER TIMELY VOLUMES

Language for Men of Affairs: I. Talking Business; II. Business Writing. By John Mantle Clapp; James Melvin Lee. 526 pp.; 611 pp. The Ronald Press Co., New York.

For several years past the publishers of these books have been building up increasing prestige in the business field. Their publications have been readable as well as authoritative, and have done much to promote better business practice. Valuable chapters in Mr. Clapp's volume are those on verbal sales, executive talk, distinct speech, pronunciation and voice control. Nearly 150 pages discuss the technique of business addresses in public. Mr. Lee's volume is a compendium of expert advice on letter-writing, advertising copy, business and news reports, special articles for trade papers, house-organs, publication data and proof revision. Each subject is

treated by a separate author, and the book as a whole is edited by Mr. Lee. It may safely be said that the two volumes offer a stimulus to corporate business progress.

Democracy and Government. By Samuel Peterson. Alfred A. Knopf. 287 pp.

The first part of this book is an inquiry into suffrage qualifications and the second part a discussion of the organization of government by which it may be made most responsive to the popular will.

The Limits of Socialism. By O. Fred Boucke. Macmillan. 259 pp.

A restatement of the principles of social science, having chiefly in view the questions raised by modern socialism.

